

1-14  
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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641-B) (415) DATE: 1/6/60

FROM: SA [redacted] (422)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: CP, USA,  
17th NATIONAL CONVENTION  
IS - C

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) (422) b7D
- 1 - New York (100-138552) [redacted] (422) b6
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at b7C  
17th National CP Convention per NY  
[redacted] (422) b7D
- 1 - New York (100-56579) (PHILIP BART) (415)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th Nat'l b7D  
CP Conv. per [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-50094) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b7D  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100-60640) (HAROLD COLLINS) (416) b6
- 1 - New York (100-8837) [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (416)
- 1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH FLYNN) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (421)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b7D  
Nat'l conv. per [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b7D  
Nat'l CP Conv. per [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] present at 17th b6  
Nat'l Conv. per [redacted] (422) b7C

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1 - New York (100-80641-B) (415)

JTO:ml  
(28)

100-95583-541

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
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*[Handwritten initials]*

NY 100-80641-B

Copies Cont'd

- 1 - New York (100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C263) (BEDFORD-STUYVESANT SECTION,  
KINGS COUNTY, CP) (422)
- ① - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (415)

NY 100-80641-B

Identity of Source

[redacted] who  
has furnished  
reliable info in  
the past (Conceal)

b7D

Description of info

CP, USA, 17th  
National Convention,  
12/12/59

Date Received

12/14/59

Received by

SA [redacted]  
(Written)

b6  
b7C

Original Located

[redacted]

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-80641-B

Dec. 12, 1959

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party USA was held December 10th to 13th, 1959 at the Theresa Hotel, 7th Ave. and 125th St., New York City. According to [redacted] [redacted] who visited there on Saturday, December 12th, 1959, there were about 200 delegates attending.

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The man at the desk was authorized by EVELYN WIENER to give [redacted] a visitor's card of admittance. This man was about [redacted] Very pleasant. May have been PHILIP BART.

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EVELYN introduced [redacted] to her friend [redacted] who lives in [redacted] but works in [redacted] [redacted] medium brown complexion, black eyes and hair. [redacted] Very untidy, well spoken, dynamic personality.

[redacted] EVELYN and [redacted] moved from the lobby into the large meeting room. This was the skyline room of the hotel and is located on the 11th floor.

The speaker of the moment was [redacted] [redacted] maybe, medium brown hair and eyes [redacted] Spoke on [redacted] [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Next speaker was [redacted] Also white, female, dark brown hair and eyes. Slight build. [redacted] sallow complexion, [redacted]

EVELYN WIENER [redacted] went back into lobby and relaxed. EVELYN very tired. Said she had been reelected by only a 2 vote margin. She and BEN DAVIS do not like the situation in N.Y. State.

Meeting in caucus. Delegates received break until party at nine P.M.

\*CPA - means Communist Party of America.

NY 100-80641-B

[redacted] shook hands with [redacted] also BAN  
DAVIS, and [redacted]

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The National Convention of the CPA, USA held a party  
for all delegates. [redacted] a visitor, was a guest of  
BEN DAVIS and EVELYN WIENER. Buffet service and plenty of food  
of all kinds.

EVELYN introduced [redacted] to [redacted] white female, about

[redacted]  
[redacted] husband came and dined with all. White male  
named [redacted]

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b7C

Man rose to the platform to sing and [redacted] said  
this was [redacted]

[redacted] Had a few beers and was very noisy. Did not come near his  
relatives.

Then EVELYN called [redacted]

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[redacted] came over and told [redacted] how  
well he thought she had spoken at HENRY ONCHER's memorial. Was  
much joking and laughter.

EVELYN moved over to chat with LOUIS WEINSTOCK, painter  
from the Bronx. ARNOLD JOHNSON, WILLIAM PATTERSON, ELIZABETH  
FLYNN, and PAUL ROBESON JR. all greeted [redacted] Also  
[redacted] from Bed. Stuy\_

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[redacted] Introduced to DONA, white female, dark brown hair  
cut mannish with front upturned wave. Eyes brown, florid com-  
plexion, about 140 lbs, around 5'5", 40. Very nice. Said she ha

NY 100-80641-B

been to Soviet Russia last year.

Seated at the table but untalkative until EVELYN said it was O.K. to converse in front of [redacted] was [redacted] from Jamaica, some connection with the rocket, sorry correction please, THE COMET, issued by the CPA in Queen's County. [redacted] [redacted] is dieting. [redacted]

[redacted] Possibly around [redacted] About [redacted] Has at least [redacted] Another forceful character. [redacted]

b6  
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[redacted] EVELYN WIENER, ARNOLD JOHNSON and JIM TOOMEY all left between 12:30 and 1:00 A.M. EVIE wanted [redacted] to drive to 14th St., but [redacted] said no thank you and went home on the train.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE

DATE: 1/14/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641 B)

SUBJECT: 17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION, CP, USA  
IS - C

- 2 - Baltimore (100- ) (GEORGE MYERS) (RM)
- (1-100- )
- 1 - Boston (100- ) (HOMER CHASE) (RM)
- 6 - Chicago (61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
- (1-100- ) (GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1-100- ) (FLORA HALL)
- (1-100- )
- (1-100- )
- (1-100-3952) (GIL GREEN)
- 1 - Cleveland (100- ) (RM)
- 3 - Detroit (100- ) (CARL WINTER) (RM)
- (1-100- ) (TOM DENNIS)
- (1-100- )
- 1 - Indianapolis (100- ) (RM)
- 3 - Los Angeles (100- ) (RM)
- (1-100- )
- (1-100- )
- 1 - Milwaukee (100- ) (RM)
- 2 - Minneapolis (100- ) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (RM)
- (1-100- )
- 1 - Newark (100- ) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100- ) (RM)
- 1 - Portland (100- ) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100- ) (RM)
- 1 - San Juan (100- ) (RM)
- 2 - Seattle (100- ) (BERT NELSON) (RM)
- (1-100- )
- 1 - New York ( ) (INV) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-82905) ( ) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (#412)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#415)
- (COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)
- 1 - New York (100-80641 B) (#415)

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CWC:bhg  
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100-95583-512

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JAN 14 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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(COPIES CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (#424)  
1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-105618) (JACK STACHEL) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (101-559) (JESUS COLON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-134444) (JOSEPH NORTH) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER) (#424)  
1 - New York (100- [REDACTED])  
1 - New York (100- [REDACTED])  
1 - New York (100-96627) [REDACTED] (#422)  
1 - New York (100-135084) [REDACTED] (#422)  
1 - New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (#422)  
1 - New York (100-117158) [REDACTED] (#422)  
1 - New York (100-12959) [REDACTED] (#422)  
1 - New York (100-14096) (TOM MYERSCOUGH) (#422)  
1 - New York (100-50094) [REDACTED] (#424)  
1 - New York (100-9595) (WILL WEINSTONE) (#424)  
1 - New York (100-26018) (LOU WEINSTOCK) (#424)  
1 - New York (100-133189) [REDACTED] (#422)  
1 - New York (100-89691) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#415)  
① - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80640) (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80643) (CP, USA - WOMEN'S MATTERS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80644) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS) (#415)

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b7c



NY 100-80641 B

Identity of Source

[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

b7D

Description of Info

17th National Convention, CP, USA, 12/10,11,12,13/59

Date Received

12/14/59  
12/23/59

Received By

SA [redacted] (orally)

b6  
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b7D

Original Located

[redacted]

The following information was furnished by [redacted] on 12/14/59 and 12/23/59 and authenticated by [redacted] on 12/31/59.

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-80641 B

12/14/59  
12/23/59

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA was held on December 10, 11, 12, 13/59 at the Theresa Hotel in New York City, N.Y.

The convention opened at 11 A.M. on 12/10/59 and was called to order by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN who chaired the opening session. The first order of business was the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" led by [redacted] from Brooklyn. After this Greetings from GIL GREEN, ROBERT THOMPSON and HENRY WINSTON were read to the delegates. In addition to this, greetings were read from EUGENE DENNIS who was suffering from a heart attack and was unable to attend the convention.

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BEN DAVIS welcomed the delegates to the convention which was followed by greetings from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as read by FLYNN.

Greetings from the central committee of the Irish Communist Party, and those of England, Norway and India were read. (More follow later).

PHIL BART then made a report on the organization and functioning of the convention. It was a more or less brief outline of that function.

After lunch the afternoon session was chaired by EVELYN WEINER of New York and the most important thing was the main report of the convention given by GUS HALL. He touched on all of the important resolutions and problems facing the party and emphasized the future and building of the Party.

[redacted] made a report on the Steel Strike which was followed by a reading and comments on the Negro Resolution made by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago.

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The convention then recessed for supper and after the meal the various convention committees caucused and discussed their problems.

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The session of 12/11/59 opened at about 10:45 A.M. and was chaired by PAT TOOHEY of New Jersey. The report of the presiding committee was made and this was followed by a discussion of the main report as given by HALL on the previous day.

Following this preliminary discussion greetings were read from the Communist Parties of Sweden, Hungary and the U.S.S.R.

JAMES E. JACKSON, JR. followed the reading of the greetings with a report called "The Marxist Movement and Our Party". This was followed, in turn, by a labor report by IRVING POTASH.

After a lunch break the afternoon session opened at 2:55 P.M. with discussions on the various resolutions to be presented. Reports were also made on the Mexican situation by someone from Southern California and on the Indian Question also by a delegate from Southern California.

A report on the Worker by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and JACK STACHEL was made and was followed by greetings from the French Communist Party.

After supper GEORGE MYERS of Baltimore chaired and a tape recording sent by TIM BUCK of Canada was played.

The day closed with the 1960 Elections Report by BEN DAVIS.

On Saturday CLARENCE HATHAWAY of Minnesota chaired the session which consisted of an organizational report by PHIL BART, election information by GUS HALL, a Women's Question report by a delegate from San Francisco and BILL ALBERTSON's report on Youth Matters.

After lunch GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT from Chicago chaired the meeting which was a discussion on the Youth Question, greetings read from the German Socialist-Communist Party and general discussion.

Saturday night a reception was held at the hotel for all of the delegates.

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On Sunday morning, [redacted]  
[redacted] A report was read from the appeals and  
order committee.

Greetings from Puerto Rico were extended by [redacted]  
who received a 10 minute standing ovation from the delegates.  
[redacted] was injured and missed the first part of the convention as  
a result of a taxi-cab accident and was hospitalized. PATTERSON  
made a presentation of flowers to [redacted]

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The remainder of Sunday was given over to the election  
of the National Committee, some of whom are:

GUS HALL	ARNOLD JOHNSON
BEN DAVIS	ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
JACK STACHEL	IRVING POTASH
CLARENCE HATHAWAY (Minn.)	HERB APTHEKER
JESUS COLON	[redacted]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT (Chicago)	GEORGE MYERS (Baltimore)
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON	BILL ALBERTSON
JOE NORTH	[redacted]
[redacted]	GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT (Chicago)
FLORA HALL (Chicago)	TOM DENNIS (Detroit)
CARL WINTER (Detroit)	[redacted]
HOMER CHASE (New England)	[redacted]
[redacted]	FRED BLAIR (Wisconsin)
FRED BLAIR (Wisconsin)	BERT NELSON (Washington)
[redacted]	[redacted]

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GUS HALL is to be the General Secretary  
BEN DAVIS is to be the National Secretary  
EUGENE DENNIS is to be the National Chairman  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT are to be  
Vice Chairmen.

All of the above persons except EUGENE DENNIS, WILLIAM  
Z. FOSTER, GIL GREEN, HENRY WINSTON and ROBERT TOMPSON were present  
at the convention. In addition the following persons were present:

NY 100-80641 B

[redacted] - Washington  
[redacted] - So. California

[redacted]  
JESUS COLON  
BETTY GANNETT  
JIM TORMEY

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[redacted] (as observer)  
TOM MYERS COUCH (as observer)  
[redacted]

WILL WEINSTONE  
LOU WEINSTOCK  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

[redacted] - Detroit

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 1/22 '60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS - C

- 3 - Chicago (100-3952) (GILBERT GREEN) (RM)
  - (1-100-30108) [redacted]
  - (1-100-12789) (GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT)
  - 1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (RM)
  - 1 - Detroit (100-13740) [redacted] (RM)
  - 1 - Los Angeles (100-4963) [redacted] (RM)
  - 1 - Minneapolis (100- ) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (RM)
  - 1 - Philadelphia (100- ) [redacted] (RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco (61-415) (AL RICHMAN) (RM)
  - 1 - New York [redacted] (INV) (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-93665) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-62050) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-47060) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-133481) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-69941) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-135252) [redacted] (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-85605) (PAULINE LANDAU) (#421)
  - 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (#412)
  - 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-128804) (CP, NYD - YOUTH MATTERS) (#416)
  - 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#424)
  - 1 - New York (100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (#424)
  - 1 - New York (100-82905) [redacted] (#422)
  - 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (101-559) (JESUS COLON) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-13203) [redacted] (#423)
  - 1 - New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (#424)
  - 1 - New York (100-84275) (BILL PATTERSON) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (#416)
  - 1 - N w York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-92763) [redacted] (#412)
  - 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (#415)
  - 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)
- (COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C40) (#421)

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SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
JAN 22 1960  
FBI - NEW YORK

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NY 100-26603-c40

(COPIES CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

1 - New York (100-32862) (JAMES ALLEN) (#415) b6  
1 - New York (100-25623) [REDACTED] (#415) b7C  
1 - New York (100-18065) ((FNU) [REDACTED] delegate at large to National Committee, per [REDACTED] believed to be JACK STACHEL) (#415) b7D

1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-13473) (ST GERSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-79025) [REDACTED] (#415)  
1 - New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (#421)  
1 - New York (100-106126) [REDACTED] (#424)  
1 - New York (100-64074) [REDACTED] (#421) b6  
1 - New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (#415) b7C  
1 - New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (#422)  
1 - New York (100-55159) [REDACTED] (#421)  
1 - New York (100-62881) [REDACTED] (#421)  
1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (#412)  
1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-7629) (NAACP) (#41)  
1 - New York (100-128815) (CP, NYD - NEGRO QUESTION) (#416)  
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-136519) (COMINFIL - DEMOCRATIC PARTY) (#413)  
1 - New York (100-80643) (CP, USA - WOMEN MATTERS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80635) (CP, USA - JEWISH QUESTION) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-26603) (CP, NYS) (#416)  
1 - New York (100-128314-C) (BRONX COUNTY CP - FUNDS) (#421)

NY 100-26603-C40

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)	b7D
Description of Info	Bronx County CP Committee meeting 12/16/59	
Date Received	12/21/59	
Received By	SA [redacted] (written)	b6 b7C b7D
Original Located	[redacted]	

A copy of informant's report follows:



NY 100-26603-C40

Date of report Dec. 19, 1959

The Bronx County Committee, of the Communist Party, held a regular meeting on Wednesday night Dec. 16, at [redacted] house,

The following people were there [redacted]

[redacted] and a PAULINE.

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b7C

The agenda was a report by [redacted] on the National Convention, Fund drive, and discussion on organizational problems for the future.

In her report [redacted] compared the stormy 16 National Convention of two years ago to the quiet peaceful Convention of a week ago, the 17 National Convention here at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

She outlined the remarks of GUS HALL, the new chairman of the Communist Party here in the U.S., who also outlined the many problems which the Party has overcome since the 16 National Convention.

Another important aspect of the Party is What is the role of the Party today, how can we get into the main broad stream, and how can we be effective today.

Also some of the important highlights of the Convention were discussion around the recent visit of KRUSCHEV to the U.S. The meeting between KRUSCHEV and EISENHOWER at Camp David. This was the issue around the International scene, on the domestic scene we have the many problems of of Automation, Unemployment and the growing tax burden on the American people.

The question of how the American people, who are faced with the many problems, of taxes, anti-labor bills, anti-union etc. on the domestic scene, and by the ever continuing cold war under the guise of peace, on the foreign scene, can be met was discussed at great lengths by the many delegates of the National Convention.

NY 100-26603-C40

Some of the ways in which the people are showing their resistance to these many problems are, the creation of a militant youth movement, by the many peace organizations, by the many demonstrations against the use of the A. and H. Bombs, against an expanded draft, by the many Negro organizations both here in the North but also in the South, since the integration movement of a few years back, by the struggles of the Steel workers union against the big steel monopolies, who have forced a 117 days strike on the workers without a settlement in sight, until the government forced the workers back to work.

Concerning the question of the Party for the future, it is true that many people were holding out in the past two years, undecided, as to remain or drop out, just waiting for a sign of stability, and now that this Convention is over it is certain that they will remain because it is a unified Party pledged to fight for common program.

outlined the many committies that were active in the National Convention namely, peace, unions (Industrial), around the Party, Youth, Women, 1960 elections, Latin American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Appeals, Party Press, Jewish, National groups, Credentials.

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There were many resolutions on peace, discussion and estimate as to what degree the American people can move on such a vital question of Peace. Trade Union resolutions, where monopoly was the main enemy, Negro resolution, where a great discussion was held around the struggles against the Dixicrats and ways and means to overcome them.

Resolutions around the 1960 much stress was placed on the establishment of many Independent organizations and forums, also for us to join the existing Political organization especially the Democrat Party and to work from within.

There must be established and strengthening of Negro, Puerto Rican alliance, especially in the Bronx where the need is so great for such leadership in the 1960 elections.

NY 100-26603-C40

Around the Youth issue, it is necessary first to bring the youth together, lay the ground work for this important set up, and later to establish an organization to lead the Youth forward and help solve the many growing problems which face them in the future.

The Constitution Committee discussed to great lengths the function and duties of the National Convention in the election of a National Committee, and the re-establishment of Democratic Centralism.

There was an excellent report on Cuba, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Womens Committee, where 9 women from New York were elected to the National Committee including the wives of two National Committee members.

The Jewish question, the status of the Jewish people in the U.S. it was voted that the New National Committee render a full report sometime in Feb. 1960 after a more complete study is made.

Some of the highlights of the Convention was the speech of JAMES JACKSON, WILLIAM WEINSTONE, LOUIS WEINSTOCK, [REDACTED]

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Another touching scene of the Convention, was the appearance of the Chairman of the Puerto Rican communist Party, who after taking a plane to Idlewild Airport, then a cab to his sisters house, nearing her home the cab was involved in an accident causing serious injuries to him, causing him to be hospitalized, but even though he was injured seriously he came to the Convention on crutches, and was greeted enthusiastically by the Convention. It was an inspiring spectacle and showed the loyalty which he had toward the Party.

GUS HALL in his final remarks said that this Convention is concluded on the premise of one line, one policy and one direction. He urged that we strive to overcome the factionalism traits within our Party, that we get rid of such groups that exist in the Party, and that we strive to establish the kind of leadership that will build a strong Communist Party here in America.

NY 100-26603-040

In connection with this it is necessary to get down to the level of resistance, develop leadership, promote cadre, especially those near and dear to us, the old and the new, young and old.

[redacted] gave a list of [redacted] to the National Committee (25), these were proposed by the Nominating Committee, HALL, [redacted] COLON, JACKSON, FLYNN, [redacted] APTHEKER, PATTERSON, HATHOWAY, [redacted] LUMAR, [redacted] DAVIS, ARNOLD JOHNSON, GENE DENNIS, GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT, JAMES ALLEN, ERIC BART, [redacted] AL RICHMAN, [redacted] PHIL BART, SI GERSON, and [redacted] from Harlem instead of WILL WEINSTONE.

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The New York State delegation representation was as follows, WEINSTOCK, ALBERTSON, PAUL JR. [redacted] (Latin Amer) [redacted] from garment, BETTY GANNETT, JIM TORMY (Bklyn. Co. Org.) and [redacted]

The following were elected to head the Communist Party to insure a collective leadership, GENE DENNIS general chairman (Sec.), GUS HALL NAT, Sec. and BEN DAVIS.

FLYNN, JACKSON and LIGHTFOOT were also elected to the National Committee.

The State Convention will reconvene on Jan. 8 and 9, 1960.

Concerning Bronx County, an organization was going to be set up of County Committee members to review the many organizational problems in the County, composed of [redacted] they are to meet with the County staff first and then present their findings to the County Committee.

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[redacted] spoke on the fund drive, she urged everyone to try extra hard to collect funds, which are urgently needed, the Paper (Worker) has a great financial debt to pay and if money does not come in before Monday it will not be able to continue

NY 100-26603-C40

publication much longer. Therefor it is imperative that we visit everyone we can by next Monday and to contact her if any money is available.

[redacted] urged that we send Christmas greetings to GIL GREEN, and HENRY WINSTON, she also urged us to send protests to Alexanders Dept. store on E. Fordham Rd. and Grand Concourse, because of an injunction which the Insurance Company for the Dept. store obtained against the N.A.A.C.P. prohibiting picketing in front of the store.

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This is in relation to the hiring of Negro help in that store, similar to the Sears Roebuck Campaign of a year ago by the N.A.A.C.P.

The next meeting of the Bronx County Committee was for Wed. Dec. 30 at PAULINE's house 2504 Olinville Ave. Apt. 4B.

There was discussion on how to raise funds, a theatre party was planned by [redacted] for the show, "Orphans Decending" and she urged anyone who wanted tickets to contact her soon so that she can get enough for all.

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There was also going to be a house party at her house on Dec. 26.

me  
2/18

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 2/11/60

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C42)

SUBJECT: CP, BRONX COUNTY  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished insufficient information to determine reliability (conceal)

Description of info Discussion group, 1/14/60

Date received 1/15/60

Received by SA THORNTON M. WOOD (oral)

Location Instant memo

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 1 - Chicago (61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
- 1 - NY [redacted] (Inv.) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA-Negro Question) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA-Factionalism) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA-Organization) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA-Membership) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, NYD-Membership) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-93665 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-120473 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-133346 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-dead [redacted] (413)
- 1 - NY 100-77566 [redacted] (413)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-133090 (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) (414)
- 1 - NY 62-11740 (NORMAN THOMAS) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-133902 (CP, USA-Infiltration of Mass Organizations) (415)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA-Line) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-132430 (CP, NYD-Industrial Division) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (421)

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TMW:jn  
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100-95583-845

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 12 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

K

NY 100-26603-C42

[redacted] advised that during the evening of [redacted] a small discussion group, which has been in the process of being organized by [redacted] met in the apartment of [redacted]. It was attended by [redacted].

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[redacted] stated the group was led by [redacted] whom he described as [redacted] of the Bronx County CP and also a member of the National Committee, CP-USA. The meeting, which had originally been described as a small discussion group on current affairs and their relationship with Marxism, actually turned out to be a post-convention discussion on the recently concluded convention of the CP-USA.

[redacted] discussed the proceedings of the convention, particularly outlining the question of factionalism, mentioning particularly the Party has been able to dispose of its right and left factions and, in particular, mentioning that the hard core left factionalists had left the Party and formed their own organization.

[redacted] indicated that the Party was now being led by individuals who were Marxist-Leninist in a central position, that is leaning neither to the right nor to the left in either form of factionalism.

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She stated the Party's activities had been more constructive in the past year and in so doing, has become more democratic. [redacted] commented that the central committee system of the Party in itself encouraged more democratic, collective thinking.

According to [redacted] there are now 10,000 members of the CP nationally and 2,000 in the NY District. These figures, she claimed, were from the last Party registration; however, [redacted] gave no breakdown as to the various counties in NY. She stated that JAMES JACKSON is now editor of "The Worker" and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT will be in charge of the Party's Negro affairs, remaining in Chicago.

NY 100-26603-C42

According to [redacted] indicated the peace issue is still predominant in Party work; however, the anti-monopoly issue will be one of the large issues of the Party during the coming post-convention period.

Subsequent to the post-convention discussion of [redacted] in discussing mass work, [redacted] indicated a good place for a comrade to work in is the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Subsequent to this discussion, [redacted] was recruited by [redacted] advised that [redacted]

b6  
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b7D

[redacted] after a brief background investigation, [redacted] was invited [redacted] was re-recruited into the Party and both she and [redacted] paid [redacted] further advised that [redacted] was identified as a member of the Bronx County CP belonging to a local club which he could not identify.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] announced two meetings; one, a demonstration at the West German Consulate to be held 1/18/60. This meeting was said to be receiving CP support and while he could not identify any of the groups which were sponsoring the meeting, recalled that NORMAN THOMAS was one of the featured speakers. Also announced was an unidentified meeting of a left wing Jewish group which was scheduled to be held at Union Square during the latter part of January, 1960.



2/19  
mcm

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C263) (#422) DATE: 2/11/60

FROM : SA [redacted] (#422)

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b7C

SUBJECT: BEDFORD STUYVESANT SECTION,  
KINGS COUNTY CP  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info 1/21/60 meeting, Bedford-Stuyvesant Section Committee

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Date Received 1/22/60

Received By SA [redacted] (orally)

Original Located [redacted]

The information concerning HALOIS ROBINSON was furnished to SA [redacted] on 1/25/60.

b6  
b7C

The following information was furnished by [redacted] on 1/22/60 and authenticated by [redacted] on 1/27/60.

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C43) (KINGS COUNTY CP) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-16241 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-96627 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-110783 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-135084 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-111095 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-100487 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-280 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-109202 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LONE) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-128815) (CP, NYD - NEGRO QUESTION) (#416)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) (B/S - CH CULTURAL COMMITTEE) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-125850 [redacted]) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-81794) (HALOIS ROBINSON) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C263) (#422)

70-583-546

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CWC:bhg  
(16)

NY 100-26603 C263

1/22/60

On 1/21/60 there was a meeting of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section Executive Committee at the residence of [REDACTED]

The following were present: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was at home but took no part in the meeting.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] made a report on the GUS HALL Report given at the national convention of the Party. This was followed by discussion all of which was rather meaningless. Nobody seemed to realize what was said or what was going on. It was a dull and spiritless affair.

It was announced that Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem, as Negro Party Groups, would engage in a race to see which of the groups could get more members and which could get more Worker subscriptions. No time limit was set on this and I guess it will go on forever.

Brotherhood and Negro History Week will be celebrated by the section under the name "Bedford-Stuyvesant-Crown Heights Cultural Committee". [REDACTED]

b6  
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[REDACTED] of the affair which is to be held on 2/28/60 at P.S. 289, St. Marks and Kingston Avenues in Brooklyn, N.Y. at 2:00 PM.

It was announced that HALOIS ROBINSON has a passport and will leave New York in February for Russia where she will attend a Women's Festival and where she will receive treatment of a medical nature for multiple sclerosis with which she is afflicted. The State and County organizations of the Party will assist her financially in the trip.

*m*

*2/19*  
*nm*

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C265) (#422)

DATE: 2/15/60

FROM : SA [redacted] (#422)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: BORO HALL SECTION CLUB,  
KINGS COUNTY CP  
IS - C

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-131529) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-86995) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-107732) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-71199) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-67679) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-103936) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-138552) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-86732) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-122212) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-128314-B) (KINGS COUNTY CP - FUNDS) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-133090) (NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (#414)
- 1 - New York (100-140528) (COMINFIL, GREATER NY COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (#414)
- 1 - New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL, MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (#41)
- 1 - New York (100-133903) (CP, NYD - ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (#416)
- 1 - New York (100-58397) [redacted] (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-043) (KINGS COUNTY CP) (#422)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-0265) (#422)

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b7C

JTO: bhg  
(19)

*100-95583-547*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
415 FEB 15 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten initials]*

NY 100-26603-C265

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)	b7D
Description of Info	Meeting of Boro Hall Section Club, KCCP, 1/27/60	
Date Received	1/29/60	
Received By	SA [redacted] (orally)	b6 b7C
Original Located	NY [redacted]	

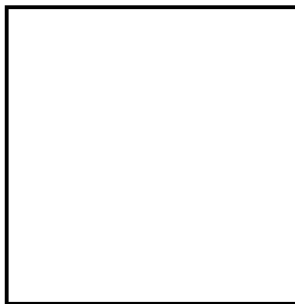
The following information was furnished by [redacted] on 1/29/60 and authenticated by [redacted] on 1/29/60. b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-26603-C265

1/29/60

On 1/27/60, a meeting of the Boro Hall Section Club, Kings County, Communist Party, was held at the residence of [redacted] [redacted] at which the following members were present:



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b7c

A discussion was held concerning the 1960 elections in New York City, N.Y. The advisability of backing a third party was considered as well as the possibility of backing the candidates of one of the two major political parties to the exclusion of the other.

Mention was made of holding a Kings County, CP, meeting on the question of the 1960 elections on 2/3/60, place not specified.

[redacted] had one hundred tickets to a play at an unspecified playhouse in Brooklyn, which she proposed to have the members of the Boro Hall Section Club sell as a fund raising scheme for the CP. However, this proposal was voted down.

[redacted] mentioned that they were active in the work of the National Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy being carried on in the Brooklyn Heights area of Brooklyn and indicated that they did not want any other members of the Boro Hall Section Club to operate in that area.

b6  
b7c

[redacted] was urged to arrange an organizational meeting at her home in the near future on behalf of the National

NY 100-26603-C265

Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy to be formed in the Red Hook area of Brooklyn.

It was announced that [redacted] had paid ten dollars in dues to the Boro Hall Section Club on that night,

[redacted] indicated that if her CP activities become known to her boss he probably would fire her.

To accommodate [redacted] who both found it impossible to attend meetings on alternate Wednesday evenings, it was decided that future meetings of the Boro Hall Section Club would be held on alternate Tuesday evenings.

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[redacted] mentioned that he was attending the School of Social Science on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings. [redacted] had been attending the School of Social Science on Tuesdays and Thursday evenings, but now she also attends on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings, so that they both can attend future meetings on alternate Tuesday evenings.

The next meeting of the Boro Hall Section Club was scheduled for 2/9/60 at the residence of [redacted]  
[redacted]

3/16

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, CLEVELAND

DATE: 3/10/60

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C265)

SUBJECT: BORO HALL CLUB  
KINGS COUNTY CP  
IS - C

- 1-Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (RM)
- 1-New York [redacted] (INV.) (422)
- 1-New York (100-86995) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-103936) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-133967) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-138552) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-131529) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-71199) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-56579) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-128314-B) (KINGS COUNTY CP-FUNDS) (422)
- 1-New York (100-120844) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-119737) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
- 1-New York (100-140528) (COMINFIL OF THE GREATER NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (41)
- 1-New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL, MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (41)
- 1-New York (100-133903) (CP, NYD-ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (414)
- 1-New York (97-169) ("THE WORKER") (415)
- 1-New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA-LINE) (414)
- 1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-New York (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (422)
- 1-New York (100-10769) (NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD) (41)
- 1-New York (100-119910) (BRIGHTON BEACH COMMUNITY CENTER) (422)
- 1-New York (100-10058) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-14096) (TOM MYERSCOUGH) (422)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C43) (KINGS COUNTY CP) (422)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C265) (422)

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JTO:ume  
(27)

*1/11*

*100-95583-548*

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MAR 9 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*415*

NY 100-26603-C265

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)	b7D
Description of Info	Meeting of Boro Hall Club, KCCP, 2/9/60	
Date Received	2/12/60	
Received By	SA [redacted] oral	
Original Location	[redacted]	b6 b7C b7D

Information furnished by informant, as reflected above was reduced to writing by SA [redacted] on 2/15/60, and authenticated by informant on 2/15/60.

A copy of informant's oral report follows.



NY 100-26603-C265

2/12/60

On 2/9/60, a meeting of the Boro Hall Club of the Kings County CP, was held at the residence of [redacted] [redacted] at which the following members were present:



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[redacted] who is a member of the County Staff of the Kings County CP, announced that she would meet regularly with the Boro Hall Club to assist in any organizational problems that they might encounter. She also announced that there would be a "station" held at her residence, 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. on Thursday evening 2/11/60 and also on 2/18/60 for all of Brooklyn in order that all of the clubs could turn in their money for the Fund Drive. She also added that "stations" would continue to be held at her residence until the end of the fund drive in June, 1960.

The quota for the Boro Hall Club is \$1,080.00 or about \$77.00 per member, for the 14 members therein.

[redacted] told [redacted] that [redacted] was transferred and that [redacted] was also transferred.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that [redacted] would attend the "station" to turn in the Fund Drive money from the Boro Hall Club.

It was announced that BEN DAVIS would attend and speak at a meeting on 3/11/60 on behalf of the Sane Nuclear

NY 100-26603-C265

Policy group, which [redacted] is forming in the Red Hook area, at [redacted] residence, [redacted]

Other Boro Hall Club members are to contact former "Daily Worker" subscribers in the Red Hook area and to invite them to the meeting if these individuals are receptive.

All of the Boro Hall Club members are to attend the meeting and to donate food and refreshments.

[redacted] told [redacted] that the following was a breakdown of [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] also stated that [redacted] is the [redacted]

[redacted] suggested that everyone present should write to [redacted] Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue, Washington, D.C. to release HENRY WINSTON so that he can go to Russia to recuperate.

[redacted] announced that an open CP meeting sponsored by the Kings County CP, would be held on 3/4/60 at Premier Palace, 505 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. at 8:00 pm, at which GUS HALL and CLARENCE HATHAWAY are to be the principal speakers. She stated that at this meeting the doors would be open to new members.

All of the members were sold tickets at \$3.00 each to the show, "Cradle Will Rock" at the New York City Center on 2/11/60 which they will attend in a group.

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NY 100-26603-C265

A special assessment was made on the members according to their means in order that the Fund Drive could profit from the sale of tickets to the Bolshoi Ballet at a later date, which would be purchased from the proceeds of the special assessment.

[redacted] stated that she had learned that the National Lawyers Guild was selling tickets to the ballet and charging \$20.00 for tickets which were originally purchased for only \$6.00. So, she volunteered to obtain tickets to the Georgia Estate Ballet to be held from 3/27/60 through 3/30/60 at Madison Square Garden, New York City, N.Y. in an effort to make money for the Fund Drive in the same manner.

[redacted] also suggested that the Kings County CP should sponsor a county-wide dance in an effort to raise money for the Fund Drive.

[redacted] stated that she thought both suggestions were very good.

It was decided that a committee be formed to ascertain if arrangements could be made to hold the dance at the Brighton Beach Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

It was announced that the next meeting would be held on 2/24/60 at the residence of [redacted]

The group that [redacted] is working with is a Sane Nuclear Policy group which was formed from a group of dissident Democrats who were working to oust CARMINE DE SAPIO as a Democratic District Leader. This group, which is made up of CP members and non-CP members now wants to split up. The CP members and progressives in this group want TOM MYERSCOUGH to meet with them to form a Sane Nuclear Policy group of its own.

b6  
b7c

*pub 3/23*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)  
FROM : SA [redacted] (422)  
SUBJECT : CP, USA, NYD  
IS-C

DATE: 3/9/60

b6  
b7C

b7D

- 1-New York [redacted] (Inv.) (422)
- 1-New York (100-135084) [redacted] (422)
- 1-New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (422)
- 1-New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (415)
- 1-New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-26018) (LOU WEINSTOCK) (415)
- 1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-106126) [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York (100-116704) [redacted] (42)
- 1-New York (100-83828) [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York (100-13203) [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York (100-93665) [redacted] (421)
- 1-New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)
- 1-New York (100-228) [redacted] (424)
- 1-New York (100-118174) [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York (100-139834) (AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL) (413)
- 1-New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (412)
- 1-New York (100-133903) (CP ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGS.) (414)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA, LINE) (415)
- 1-New York (100-22864) (ADAM CLAYTON POWELL) (424)
- 1-New York (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (415)
- 1-New York (100-82206) [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York (100-128314) (CP, USA, NYD, FUNDS) (414)
- 1-New York (100-47142) (MAY DAY, 1960) (412)
- 1-New York (100-26603) (414)

b6  
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cwc;mbc  
(26)

*[Handwritten signature]*

100-95583-549

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MAR 9 1960  
FBI - NEW YORK

*[Handwritten initials and numbers]*

NY 100-26603 .

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished  
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info: NYS CP Board meeting, 2/11/60

Date Received: 2/12/60

Received by: SA [redacted] (orally<sup>+</sup><sub>tr</sub>)

Original located: NY [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The following information was furnished by the informant  
on 2/12/60 and authenticated on 2/25/60.

A digest of this information was furnished to the  
Bureau by airtel on 2/12/60.

A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-26603

February 12, 1960

On 2/11/60, there was a meeting of the New York State Communist Party board at Party headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

The following individuals were present:

[REDACTED]

JIM TORMEY  
BETTY GANNETT  
BILL ALBERTSON  
LOU WEINSTOCK  
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

[REDACTED]

EVELYN WIENER

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported on the American Negro Labor Council. [REDACTED] report was a lengthy report, most of which was concerned with the necessity for Negro people, particularly those in the Party, getting into the Council. It is the desire of the Party to have its members join the Council and help in its work, although Party members are not to assume or accept any of the leadership of this group. [REDACTED] stated that a number of mistakes have been made in connection with Party people's attempts to lead this type of group and, therefore, Party members should not assume or accept leadership in this group.

In addition to this, [REDACTED] suggested that GEORGE MEANY of the AFL-CIO is getting too powerful in the labor movement. It was evident from [REDACTED] remarks that they would like to see MEANY replaced.

In connection with [REDACTED] report, it was stated that Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL must become the Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

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The National Negro Labor Council was planning its convention in Detroit on May 28 and 29, 1960. Its New York headquarters are located at 217 West 125th Street.

BILL ALBERTSON gave a report on the results of a state staff meeting, the exact date of which was not announced.

ALBERTSON stated that since PAUL ROBESON, JR., can not make the meetings of the state board, Harlem has no representation. It was the decision of the staff that [redacted] be placed on the board.

Another determination of the staff was that [redacted] [redacted] would attend County board meetings at least on a temporary basis but will not be a member of the board and will not be permitted to vote with the board.

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It appears that there is some dissension between [redacted] [redacted] EVELYN WIENER on one side and [redacted] on the other.

ALBERTSON, in addition, made the following announcements:

The New York County fund drive quota has been cut to \$22,000.00. There will be a youth conference this weekend (location not announced.)

ALBERTSON also announced that attempts were now being made to pick a day for the celebration of May Day, 1960.

It appears that May 1st falls on a Sunday and the decision to hold it on either Saturday or Monday is now being made although no decision has been made to date.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43) (422) DATE: 3/11/60  
FROM: SA [redacted] (422)  
SUBJECT: KINGS COUNTY CP  
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Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info Meeting of KCCP Board

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b7D

Date Received 2/19/60

Received by SA [redacted] (oral)

Original located [redacted]

The following information was furnished by [redacted] on 2/19/60 and authenticated by [redacted] on 2/26/60.

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A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-96627) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-12959) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-135084) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-559) (JESUS COLON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-117158) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-139834) (AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL) (413)
- 1 - New York (100-19194) (A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH) (424)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA -LINE) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-94584) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100- [redacted]) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C43) (422)

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FBI - NEW YORK



NY 100-26603-c43

2/19/60

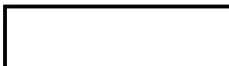
On 2/16/60 there was a meeting of the Kings  
County Communist Party Board at the residence of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

The following were present:



JESUS COLON

JIM TORMEY



The meeting was opened with a report on the American Negro Labor Council made by JIM TORMEY. He stated that the state board had discussed this matter and quoted A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH as saying "we cannot organize without the Communists". The instructions of the Party are for the Comrades to get into the Council but to take no leadership role in its activities. Apparently the Party will take a major responsibility in connection with this activity. The Party members are encouraged to attend the convention of this group on 5/28,29 in Detroit. TORMEY stated that he would be attending the convention as an observer and that this council will form a major portion of the mass work of the Party in the weeks and months to come.

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TORMEY also reported on the 1960 election matters in connection with Kings County. It appears that [redacted] [redacted] will be the candidate for Assemblyman in the 17th Assembly District and that [redacted] will be encouraged to run for state senator.

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The Fund Drive and the big meeting for March 4 were discussed briefly. TORMEY said that there will be at least 200 non-Party people at the March 4 meeting.

FBI  
Date: 4/29/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)  
Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( 100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(CINAL)

- 10 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-3-81) (CP, USA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
    - (1 - 100-3-88) (CP, USA-FACTIONALISM)
    - (1 - 100-3-86) (CP, USA-PAMPHLETS and PUBLICATIONS)
    - (1 - 100-3-104) (CP, USA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
    - (1 - 100-3-71) (CP, USA-EDUCATION)
    - (1 - 97-401) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
    - (1 - 100-3-76) (CP, USA-YOUTH MATTERS)
  - 5 - Boston (INFO) (RM)
    - (1 - 100- ) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
    - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
    - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
    - (1 - 100-16707) (SCOTT NEARING)
  - 1 - Chicago (100-33741) (INFO) (RM)
  - 2 - Detroit (INFO) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
  - 1 - Los Angeles (INFO) (AMRM)
  - 2 - Philadelphia (INFO) (RM)
    - (1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
  - 1 - San Francisco (INFO) (AMRM)
  - 1 - NY 100-80644 (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS) (415)
  - ① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - LINE) (415)
  - 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
  - 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM) (415)
  - 1 - NY 100-81675 (CP, USA - PAMPHLETS and PUBLICATIONS) (415)
- (Copies continued on following page)

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JAC:gmg  
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Special Agent in Charge

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Copies (cont'd)

1 - NY 100-129802 (CP, USA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (415)  
1 - NY 100-80633 (CP, USA - EDUCATION) (415)  
1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (415)  
1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY 100-9365 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)  
1 - NY 100-9595 (WILL WEINSTONE) (414)  
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT) (414)  
1 - NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)  
1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
1 - NY 100-10989 (NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS) (415)  
1 - NY 100-128255 [REDACTED] (412)  
1 - NY 100-32826 (JIM ALLEN) (415)  
1 - NY 100-25603 (CP, USA, NYD) (414)  
1 - NY 100-97167 (POLITICAL AFFAIRS) (412)  
1 - NY 100-133435 (PARTY AFFAIRS) (415)  
1 - NY 100-137025 (WORLD MARXIST REVIEW) (415)

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CARE MUST BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING  
INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A  
SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

On 4/27/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat and invited guests was held in CP headquarters, New York City, on that date. Among those in attendance were:

HY LUMER  
JACK STACHEL  
PHIL BART  
GUS HALL  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
IRVING POTASH  
BETTY GANNETT  
HERBERT APTHEKER  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

JIM ALLEN

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HY LUMER opened with a report on a trip which he had recently made to Boston. According to LUMER, HOMER CHASE was very critical of the National Committee (NC). CHASE said that the question of peace was being reduced to that of a subsidiary issue and was pushing forward this concept of the anti-monopoly coalition; that the Party is playing down the Summit Conference and that the Party is "becoming a ... for the Democratic Party." According to LUMER, CHASE then began to speculate as to the reasons for this and gave as a reason that perhaps the NC had no confidence in the Soviet Union. LUMER said that the general line of CHASE'S speech was one of attack on the leadership and the NC as a whole. LUMER continued, "I said that the attitude of the national leadership was no different toward HOMER (CHASE) than it was toward any other district leadership and that if we did not consider him fit to be a district leader, we would have said so. Therefore, this should not be used as an excuse for his resignation." LUMER remarked that CHASE then began to argue that if someone does not agree with the NC he cannot function as a district leader and should resign. LUMER then noted that [redacted] insisted that HOMER (CHASE) was not giving the real reasons (for his resignation) and that this is just a coverup and that he really wanted to resign because of his personal family situation - the fact that his family is not prepared to move to Boston.

LUMER said that he had proposed that HOMER (CHASE) and one other person from the leadership, preferably [redacted] [redacted] come in and meet with the Secretariat and discuss the question of the relationship of the district to the national leadership. LUMER stated that there was agreement on this and HOMER CHASE then withdrew his resignation until such a discussion. LUMER commented that when he talked to some of the other comrades individually he got somewhat different reactions. He noted that "the following morning, both [redacted] and JOHNSON (?) said they wanted to talk to me and told me they wanted to see HOMER out of that position...."

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that instead of getting down to the question of work in the district he was always raising these issues of nationalism." LUMER said that on the following day, CHASE gave what he described as a report on the NC meeting and then read the letter which had been sent to "The Worker" attacking an article written by JACK (STACHEL) on the elections. The essence of the letter was that this was an article in support of the Democratic Party against the Republican Party and one which plays down the issue of peace. LUMER continued that CHASE'S report also launched an attack on the election of the National Executive Committee (NEC) on the grounds that this was done without an evaluation and if there had been an evaluation, a number of people would not have been elected. In this connection, CHASE specifically singled out CARL WINTER and PHIL (BART). In further describing CHASE'S report, LUMER said, "He then went into a harangue about a letter he had addressed to ELIZABETH (FLYNN) which had never been answered and that it was impossible for him to work with PHIL BART. The only basis he gave for this was the discussion he had with PHIL as to whether he should be a full-time organizer. PHIL had mentioned the fact that he had four children. So he referred very sarcastically to PHIL BART and his four-children theory. I was struck by the fact that nothing was said about any work or any problems in Massachusetts except for [redacted] who made a very good speech and who raised the whole question and spoke very specifically and concretely about a number of mass issues and problems and asked why hasn't the district tackled these questions....but the rest generally followed HOMER'S lead and spoke in a similar vein..."

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LUMER commented that [redacted] was much milder in his remarks but nevertheless was critical of the line followed by the Party nationally. He added that when he (LUMER) spoke, he discussed at some length and with some sharpness, pointing out the Party line on the elections and further pointing out that even though they (the district) did not agree with all the decisions made by the NC, they were nevertheless bound to carry them out and to carry them

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out in good faith, without comrades undermining them. According to LUMER, what he had to say evidently "shook some of them" and made them feel a little ashamed of themselves. He said that at this meeting there were only two motions made, both being made by HOMER CHASE. One was that the district committee approve the aforementioned letter to "The Worker" and the other calling on the national leadership to consider convening a Party nominating convention to nominate a candidate for Vice President. LUMER did not comment on what ruling was made on these motions. He continued that after the meeting he had asked [redacted] what his position is on the letter and told [redacted] that he thought he had made it clear that he, LUMER, disagreed with it. According to LUMER, [redacted] said that he disagreed with it too and when asked by LUMER why he voted to support the letter, said that "he thinks some errors are being made by 'The Worker'.... supporting the Democratic Party."

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[redacted] LUMER said that he was of the opinion that [redacted] is not really in such agreement with HOMER CHASE as "he would impress you as being at these meetings" but is not prepared to get up and make a fight against him. ANNE (BERLAK) is not on the board because of her own family problems and plays a limited role. The meeting itself accomplished nothing and made no effort to deal with any mass activity and local problems.

GUS HALL remarked, "I suggest we call the board in" (apparently referring to the Massachusetts board of the CP). A brief discussion followed and it was apparently agreed that the people from Massachusetts would be called in for a meeting on Sunday, May 8, 1960, it being noted that this was the week before the NEC (meeting).

WILLIAM WEINSTONE then discussed the forthcoming Summit Conference and the proposed visit of President EISENHOWER to the Soviet Union. He indicated that the Summit



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Conference would be concerned with three major questions:

1. Peace
2. Disarmament
3. The German Question

According to WEINSTONE, the meeting is being held under favorable circumstances, apparently on the basis of what he considered to be the successful visits of KHRUSHCHEV to India and France. WEINSTONE described KHRUSHCHEV's visit to France as phenomenal, noting that he was "acclaimed as a hero." WEINSTONE said that the U.S. has lost ground, citing as apparent examples of this the upsurge and revolution in Korea, the fact that a united front has been held in Japan, the developments in Vietnam and Laos and the further fact that the U.S. is no longer dominant in Europe. He claimed that Germany is now beginning to compete with the U.S. and England and this is a favorable factor for the Summit Conference.

WEINSTONE said that the Party should urge agreement on a ban of further nuclear tests, with a moratorium on underground tests. With respect to the German question, WEINSTONE said that the Soviet Union will press hard on this and does not intend to allow Germany to build up arms. According to WEINSTONE, the German Party has written letters to workers of West Germany urging that the German question be solved by compromise. In preparation for the Summit Conference, WEINSTONE urged that the Party clarify the issues to the people. He suggested an open letter to the President regarding the Summit Conference in which the Party would discuss what the American people want. He said that this letter should be distributed as widely as possible. He also recommended that an ad be placed in the "New York Times."

WEINSTONE then discussed the action that the Party should take regarding EISENHOWER's visit to the USSR. He said that this visit should be the basis of a big campaign

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in the Party which should be well prepared. He suggested that "The Worker" give wide publicity to the visit and that as many trade union leaders as possible be interviewed by the paper to make an appeal to labor to express their views. He also suggested that some people in the Socialist parties in France, England and Germany be requested to write in their views for the paper. He added that they should also get "left" and Communist trade union leaders to write into the paper. WEINSTONE continued that the Party should announce a "Peace Week" in order to get the Party "on the streets," and "send out all our leading speakers." He said that this should be done either the week before President EISENHOWER leaves or while he is in the Soviet Union. JACK STACHEL described WEINSTONE's report as a very good one and said that he would concentrate on one aspect of it, namely, the reversal of the "cold war policy." He said that the Party must bring in more and more proposals to end the "cold war." He suggested the slogan be used, "End the Cold War."

IRVING POTASH agreed with the idea of a "Peace Week" and recommended that meetings should be advertised in a special edition of "The Worker."

HY LUMER said that he thought the proposal for an open letter is an important one. He said that it should be prepared promptly and should be rushed to the districts, asking them to print it instead of trying to do it centrally.

BETTY GANNETT was in agreement with everyone of the proposals.

PHIL BART was also in agreement with the open letter and suggested that it not only be sent to the President, but it could also be addressed to Congress and sent to every Congressman.

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An individual believed by informant to be HERBERT APTHEKER was pessimistic concerning accomplishments of the Summit Conference on the German question but did feel that it might force a formal agreement to the present boundaries of Germany. He remarked, "I don't think we've done enough with this aggressiveness of the West German Government.... of great significance was the movement toward the nuclear arming of West Germany which has aroused intense concern." APTHEKER noted that President EISENHOWER and the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain had both said they don't see why they (West Germany) should not have nuclear arms. APTHEKER said that he thought there should be concentrated attention upon the devastating quality such a step would have in the struggle for peaceful co-existence. According to APTHEKER, if this is to be serious disarmament with inspection included, then China cannot be omitted. He said that this brings in the question of the recognition of People's China and the seating of People's China in the United Nations.

In conclusion, APTHEKER made reference to "the developing split between West Germany and Great Britain" which he described as really becoming momentous. He said that this is aimed at making Great Britain a fourth rate power. He continued that there is a much greater popular attachment to Great Britain than there is to West Germany, a much greater feeling of kinship. He said there is a really decisive contradiction of interest between Great Britain and West Germany, and then commented "in our approach to this from a propaganda point of view, we not only take a national position,...anti-Nazi, opposed to anti-semitism and ..... the line of Great Britain in the present movement. I think that offers great opportunity."

GUS HALL said that the Party should raise the point of the danger of the growth of German militarism. According to HALL, there are a lot of peace activities that are not heard about. He said that in San Francisco, a big mass affair is scheduled along these lines. He said that attention

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should be drawn to San Francisco as an example of activities being carried on for peace.

HALL said that every club of the Party must be involved in at least one grass-roots organization for peace.

A general discussion followed concerning the proposed open letter to President EISENHOWER and it was suggested that it be no more than 1500 words. It appeared that it was agreed that the districts issue the letter in the form of folders, besides putting it in "The Worker."

HY LUMER then gave a report which was apparently primarily concerned with educational work of the Party. During his discussion he mentioned "Our theoretical work still remains low...sale of literature down... 1955-38,900 pieces,...1957- this has dropped to 4,000.....1958 to 5,000... 1959 total 4,000." He noted that "New Century" in 1955 sold 20 titles and 379,000 pieces of literature. He said that there was a decline in 1958 and 1959, noting that in 1958 12 titles were sold, and in 1959, five titles.

LUMER referred to the lack of educational apparatus in New York, Michigan and Illinois. He said there is a need for specific organizing responsibility for educational work.

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HY LUMER remarked that the Party will publish a guide for study on subjects and material available. He said it will start in July with an article by GUS (HALL) followed by other comrades. He remarked that a system of planned programs will be put into effect and that a school program will be based on extensive organization with help being provided from the center as needed. LUMER stated that "we" also propose a National Seminar to be every other week wherein leading comrades will be invited to attend. Some of the suggested topics for the seminar will be:

1. Capitalism
2. On composition and structure of American working class.
3. Theory of National Liberation Movement
4. Social Democracy in the US
5. Automation
6. Population questions, and the like

Continuing LUMER remarked that nationally, the districts should appoint leading comrades to teach groups. He added that this is already under way in Illinois. LUMER recommended that there be established a section in PA ("Political Affairs") in order to provide material for theoretical and self study.

He said that on "Party Affairs" it is recommended that it should be continued as a (intra ?) Party publication for education, party organization and experiences. He said that if the Party goes into this seriously they would have to assign an editor and a staff to guide it. In answer to a question from WILL WEINSTONE regarding the "World Marxist Review," LUMER commented that "we" must undertake a campaign to increase its circulation. He noted that at present very few Party members read it (World Marxist Review).

LUMER commented that with regard to club classes there has been some spontaneous activity, however, it varies from district to district. He said the problem

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appears to be a scarcity of material. With regard to club discussions, LUMER said that he was not able to give any statistical picture. He said "we" found that the old discussion forms are not being used so "we" have stopped them. He remarked that club discussions generally are at a low level and are infrequent.

According to the informant, LUMER then complained about his heavy work load commenting that besides working on the Education Committee, he was also on the Jewish Commission and had been working on the Youth Committee which is supposed to be a transitional thing until [redacted] gets settled.

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BETTY GANNETT during the discussion period, stated that "we" have "banded together" every section except industry for the first time in New York and now have a birds-eye view of the education situation. She stated that the Party has failed from the top down and that the people feel that "we" do not mean what we say. She said that one of the failings was their inability to show how theory fits into practice. She recommended that what was needed was a popular handbook to take issue with capitalist theories. She said that the Party is not challenging in this country and that the Party must challenge on mass media lines.

GANNETT said that with regard to the school last term there were 100 and the current term has (75?). She stated "We" are working with new personnel to attract people on the fringe to come in in order to increase attendance. Under HERB'S (APTHEKER?) leadership, "we" are undertaking work to launch that type of school which would attract young people. She stated there are approximately 20 teenagers in Queens age 14, 15 and 16, and about 14 in Westchester.

They have club meetings once a month and there is a demand growing for club classes, but "we" cannot supply the teachers. "We" have experimented with certain ideas and have projected the idea of Party institutes which would be followed by Party workshops wherein problems could be raised and criticisms offered. GANNETT complained that

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they do not have club leadership and suggested possibly having a (functionaries class ?).

Continuing GANNETT stated that comrades ought to know how to gear the educational work to the work of the Party.

WILL WEINSTONE stated that they should make the educational problem one of the chief topics. He stated that education has never been a primary task of the Party and that educational directors do not exist in all places. He commented that New York State has not had an educational discussion in several years. He commented that he had spoken to HY (LUMER) and suggested a text book, adding that the German and English Parties have had it (text book). WEINSTONE proposed that one night a week should be established for study. He said that they would be better off if they had prepared text books instead of outlines and suggested a subcommittee to prepare material.

Continuing WEINSTONE said that with regard to "Political Affairs" he was in favor of having an editorial board. WEINSTONE commented further that with regard to lectures SCOTT NEARING (PH) travels around giving lectures and in this manner reaches many people.

JACK STACHEL stated that there are three points to be stressed if HY'S (LUMER) <sup>report</sup> is to work:

1. They must draw in more people.
2. Involve people in educational work using the clubs as a basis.
3. Integrate theory into mass work.

He stated that "Political Affairs" is one of the most important instruments in the Party but it has not been used to its fullest advantage. He also agreed that it would be a good idea to have an editorial board.

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ARNOLD JOHNSON spoke next stating that he agreed with JACK'S (STACHEL) statement and with HY'S report. He asked why the present school has only 75 students. JOHNSON recommended that during the next period they should attempt to establish the system of club classes.

An individual believed to be JIM ALLEN stated that at no time has the Party had a fully developed educational program which is required in order to continuously build the Party. He said that a lack of such a program is one of the causes why people have been going out of the Party. He said that what was required was a full-fledged national educational department and the comrade in charge must develop all his time and energy to the planning of that work. This individual in closing recommended ~~FX~~ (LUMER) be assigned exclusively to this educational department.



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HERB APTHEKER stated that he agreed in general with what JIM (ALLEN) said. APTHEKER stated that the Party should set up a department specifically to fight falsifications regarding the Party and individuals in the Party. He said that if an individual Communist is named in a newspaper or article, that individual Communist should be told about it and be advised that he should send a letter to "the Times" (apparently "New York Times") or whoever it is, and tell them that their names should not be used. APTHEKER stated that he has been having a battle with DAVID LAWRENCE in correspondence which runs approximately 25 letters, because LAWRENCE, in one of his articles, lied about him. "I" have got him to admit in correspondence that he has lied, but I don't know if he will admit this in his column.

The second point I wish to discuss is what BETTY (GANNETT) touched on, that is that people inside and outside the movement want appreciation from us, the leadership, of what is bothering them. The Party should understand that this is 1960 and not 1920 or '30. The validity of Marxism in the new world is to be shown as being valid today. It is important to get people to come to lectures and "we" must learn to talk and write concerning what is current and contemporary.

The third point is polemics. All classical Marxist literature is polemic. Everything that MARX, ENGELS, and LENIN wrote was argumentative and that is the Marxist style of writing. However, this does not pervade our writing today.

The fourth point is on "Political Affairs". The editors of "Political Affairs" agreed a year ago that we needed an editorial board. APTHEKER, in closing, stated that it was up to the secretariat itself to set up this editorial board, stating that he personally has approved this for the past 18 months.

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[ ] stated that continuity of education in the Party must be based on club educational work. He stated that when the Party begins to tackle the problem of developing club educational classes, they will run into many problems. [ ] stated that he would like to see some kind of club educational aid put out which discusses methods of developing club education. He remarked that there has been some Party recruiting among young people and that in Philadelphia new members plan to organize every six months depending on how often they are able to recruit people. He said that it was most important that new people coming into the Party should get off on the right foot with respect to the concept of what the Party is.

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GUS HALL stated that the Party must discuss, concretely, specific experiences and problems faced on the club level. He stated there is room for more self criticism and the Party must admit that the lack of educational and theoretical work on our part, is a reflection of a lack of confidence. HALL stated that the whole leadership should be jolted to stimulate them into thinking more basically on what is wrong. HALL stated that the comrades in the educational field have to be self critical starting with HY (LUMER). "I" think his report should reflect more self criticism which is true of all the comrades in the educational field. HALL recommended that they relieve HY of two of the three commissions, the youth commission and the Jewish commission, and that HY should spend more time on this question. HALL remarked that if the Party cannot get sustained educational activities in the clubs, they would not get anywhere. He stated that the Party should have new and imaginative things in order to keep the people interested, and that what was needed, was an educational department. HY LUMER spoke again and commented that his report suffered from the hasty preparation because the scope of the report was much more narrow than what was up here for discussion. LUMER stated that he did not attempt to develop a report covering the field of education in its broader aspects. LUMER also agreed that there was a need for an educational department.

Meeting adjourned.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1214 SubG)(421)

DATE: 5/9/60

FROM: SA KENNETH J. HUNNEMEDER (421)

SUBJECT: 11TH A.D. CLUB  
HARLEM SECTION, CP  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info Meeting of 11th A.D. Club, Harlem Section, CP

b7D

Date Received 4/26/60

Received by SA KENNETH J. HUNNEMEDER(written)

Original located [redacted]

It is noted that [redacted] advised on 4/20/60 in reporting on the same meeting, that [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV ) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-82206) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-114287) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-127818) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-73325) (PAULINE MILOUS) (424)
- 1 - New York (100-81286) [redacted] (41)
- 1 - New York (100-85231) [redacted] (42)
- 1 - New York (100-82262) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-117792) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C2013)(13th A.D. CLUB Harlem Section, CP)
- 1 - New York (100-140220)(SPECIAL WOMEN'S CLUB, HARLEM SECTION CP)

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COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

1 - New York (100-26603-C1214 Sub G)(421)

KJH:mfm  
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100-95523-552  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
MAY 9 1960  
FBI-NEW YORK  
[Handwritten initials]

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NY 100-26603-c1214 Sub G

1 - New York (100-118649) (HARLEM TENANTS COUNCIL)  
1 - New York (100-137750) (FNU LAWRENCE) (421)  
1 - New York (100-141053) (MANHATTAN GUILD) (421)  
1 - New York (100-118884) ( ) (421)  
1 - New York (100-128815) (CP, USA-NYD NEGRO QUESTION) (414)  
1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA, NYD CP LINE)  
1 - New York (100-26603-c42) (CP, USA, NYD COUNTY) (421)  
1 - New York (100-26603-c1214) (CP, USA, HARLEM SECTION) (421)

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NY 100-26603-C1214 Sub G

4/18/60

A harlem CP Club meeting was held at the home of [redacted] on 4/15/60. Those present were [redacted] PAULINE MILOUS, [redacted] a white CP member that was transferred frmm [redacted] CP Club the reason for the transfer is not known by me at this time but have heard she live in this neighborhood. [redacted] a negro woman was a member of the security CP Club in Harlem but she said they have not had a meeting since last Feb. and she wanted to be more active. The club discussed the South African situation and the negro sit downs at lunchcounters, [redacted] said that it was a very good thing and it have great impact on the whole world racial problems. [redacted] made a motion to ask the section committee to send a CP comrade to the club and explain the student sit down problems and also the South African situation, [redacted] added to the motion that the harlem CP have a street meeting in harlem and have a flyer for distribution because there have not been any action in harlem in the name of the CP on any of the shocking problems that are taking place in the world today, the motion was second and accepted. PAULINE MILOUS said the harlem tenants council located at [redacted] and directed by Mr. LAWRENCE a negro male, about 70 years, 5'10", 140 lbs and graying black hair, wears glasses is looking for a larger office so that meeting can be held, [redacted] said she is now active with [redacted] in the harlem tenants council. Another social to raise funds for the harlem CP section by the Manhattan Guild will be held 4/23/60 at 8:00 P M until at the home of [redacted] [redacted] of the Manhattan Guild (the social is open to the public).

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JKL 5/19

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-11-2012

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BOSTON  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

DATE: 5/13/60

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re NY airtel to Bureau dated 5/9/60, captioned as above.

By referenced airtel, the Bureau was advised of the proceedings of meeting held 5/7/60, at CP Headquarters, NYC. Further dissemination is being made by means of this letter.

- 6-Boston (RM)
  - (1-100- ) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
  - (1-100- ) [redacted]
  - (1-100- ) (ANN TIMPSON)
  - (1-100- ) (CP, USA - Factionalism)
- 1-Chicago (Info) (RM)
- 1-New Haven (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
- 1-New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1-New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - Factionalism) (415)
- 1-New York (100-129802) (CP, USA - Counterintelligence Program) (415)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - Line) (415)
- 1-New York (97-169) ("Publishers New Press") (415)
- 1-New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, Jr.) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80640) (CP, USA - Negro Question) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80641)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
1/22/75

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HCO:rmv  
(19)

*[Handwritten initials]*

100-95583-553

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 13 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED, SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 5/7/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that on above date a meeting was held in the third floor board room at CP headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were:

GUS HALL  
JACK STACHEL  
HY LUMER

[REDACTED]  
HOMER BATES CHASE  
ANN TIMPSON and others

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GUS HALL opened the meeting by commenting that they haven't as yet decided how to conduct the discussion, but that the Secretariat, following comrade (HY) LUMER's report, felt that a discussion was needed. "I" felt that there are basic questions here as to policy and Party methods of conduct between comrades in general. The convention laid down a certain political line and policy which must be followed whether one agrees or not.

Continuing, HALL remarked that the policies laid down by the National Committee (NC) in Chicago are for the whole Party from one end to another. You comrades have a right to raise questions but "we" will discuss it in the context of the general line laid down by the NC. So "I" am open to discussion of how "we" will conduct the meeting. HY LUMER interrupted to recommend that HOMER (CHASE) open with his remarks.

Informant advised that an unidentified male interrupted LUMER to suggest that first they hear a brief report made to the Secretariat in order to determine what the differences are. An individual believed to be [REDACTED] recommended that HOMER (CHASE) should first indicate the problems.

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NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An individual believed by informant to be HOMER (CHASE) stated that there is no disagreement on the need for democratic centralism. However, there is a question of whether comrade (JACK) STACHEL's interpretation of the convention or "our's" is correct. There is a question of whether the function of some of the national office representatives in the New England district is in the best spirit of democratic centralism or whether it could be greatly improved on.

"I" failed to discuss with (HY?) as to who would give the report and as a result, "I" may tend to wander.

"We" feel or "I" feel that the approach to the Democratic Party in STACHEL's article in "The Worker" does not jibe with the main thought that was presented at the National Convention. "I" objected when LUMER announced at the district meeting that the Party would support (Senator) HUMPHREY. Senator HUMPHREY started the idea of concentration camps in this country for "Commies." HUMPHREY, on TV recently, opposed the admission of People's China to the UN and following his return from Russia, HUMPHREY attempted to block Premier KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the U.S.

The Democratic Party has certain dangerous characteristics which need to be (exposed?), as well as some in the Republican Party. If "we" support HUMPHREY, "we" will help the Democratic Party to mislead the workers. This policy since 1952 has tended to isolate us from those who want a third party.

"We" need to raise the level of political understanding and want to break away from the two old parties. "We" want to increase the prestige and strength of "our Party" and want a stronger, organized peace movement based on Negroes and labor.

"We" discussed in our district the question of a national Party candidate which would demonstrate to the world the freedom of the working class. This, too, would bolster pride in the Party for running a candidate. If "we" follow

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NY 100-80641

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STACHEL's article, "we" would be blocked in making the Democratic Party the lesser evil and will not be able to move freely in a fluid situation in the U.S.

GUS HALL interrupted to ask why they did not bring their political complaint to the highest Party body, namely, the Secretariat. CHASE, in answer, commented that the disagreement is not only on the electoral question, but also on policy. He noted that comrade (FLYNN), on her visit to Boston, did not take issue with this report, but felt strongly that the organizer in New England District #1 was not doing a good job. CHASE further remarked that he had addressed a letter to the Secretariat but had received no reply.

CHASE commented that comrade (BEN) DAVIS has also expressed concern for the New England Party, especially over the few Negroes in the Party (in New England?).

"We" have problems in New England, and especially in Roxbury, but there have been certain accomplishments since the convention. "We" are beginning to establish ties and beginning to establish unity in the North Shore area. "We" are beginning to play a small role with regard to youth work. A Jewish commission has been established and is tackling the difficult situation there.

Informant noted that GUS HALL interrupted CHASE again to ask what percentage of the membership of the Party is in the Boston area. CHASE, in reply, stated about 25%. CHASE noted that they have no headquarters, just a post office box.

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant then spoke and said that it was his understanding that the decision of the National Convention, as well as GUS HALL's report, indicated that the main question was peaceful co-existence and total disarmament. This individual felt that the questions of peaceful co-existence and total disarmament was

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NY 100-80641

necessary to save the human race and to insure peaceful transition to socialism. This individual noted that what is holding them back in the struggle for peace is that "we" are not convinced that both political parties in the U.S. will do the bidding of the dominant section of American imperialism. Therefore, because most workers and Negroes support the Democratic Party, if "we" are to have identity with them, then "we" must have some identity with the political party which they support. "I" feel that while there are many basic differences between both political parties, "we" must deal with the Democratic Party because both workers and Negroes support it.

GUS HALL interrupted this speaker to ask if he would say that (President) EISENHOWER was going to the Summit to disrupt it. The unknown individual replied, "No," but felt that EISENHOWER was carrying the view of forces who feel that in order for American imperialism to exist, there must be peaceful co-existence. He (EISENHOWER) is also carrying the view of forces who favor a preventive war and as a result, "we" must be critical at all times.

JACK STACHEL asked this individual if he were opposed to the Party stimulating activity within the Democratic Party. This individual replied that he was not opposed but as Communists, "we" must project the peace line to the Democratic Party and expose the war mongers.

An individual believed to be [redacted] then spoke and commented that HOMER (CHASE) stated that he was unable to continue as organizer because of a lack of accord with the NC. "I" believe this is a serious development and that the report should not go out to our membership because it would lose members. "I" feel "we" should change HOMER's position. The main worry is the health of the Party in New England. "I" agree with HALL's report that the main job is to further the peace struggle of the people and "we" should use both parties to do so.

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NY 100-80641

An individual believed to be ANN TIMPSON said that in her opinion, (HOMER) CHASE has done a good job in reviving the Party in New England. She commented that perhaps "we" have been working too long with the Democratic Party and as a result have absorbed some of its devious methods. She stated that there needs to be a more honest approach to issues and thought it a good idea to thrash problems out in a knock-down, drag-out manner.

JACK STACHEL stated that there must be a correct approach to settle problems. He stated that for a reader to disagree with an article and write to the paper is one thing, but to draft a signed Party resolution and send that to the paper is wrong. STACHEL noted that if he had any differences with the line, he would not have written the article. He noted that his article was just a simple one dealing with a simple question regarding the attack on the two-party system.

An individual believed to be HOMER CHASE interrupted STACHEL to ask if it was correct for the Party to have supported HUMPHREY in Wisconsin. STACHEL replied that "we" wanted to defeat KENNEDY in Wisconsin.

Informant advised that following discussion, HOMER CHASE stated that it was developing into a conflict, rather than a discussion, which he noted was very unnecessary. GUS HALL told CHASE that he was amazed at his (CHASE's) reasons for wanting to resign and had no idea that the differences were so great between him (CHASE) and the national office. HALL stated that "you" want to resign because you do not fully agree with the national office. However, "I" will not accept the resignation and suggest that you reconsider. HALL noted that "our leadership" is united and that there are no differences regarding basic questions. HALL further commented that there was no further reason for this type of sharpness in discussion. He stated that "you comrades" must whip the New England district into a fighting organization, adding; however, if there are any differences raised, they must be raised in a correct manner.

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NY 100-80641

An individual believed to be ANN TIMPSON asked why the national leadership was so sensitive, and asked if comrade ELIZABETH (FLYNN) was criticized as sharply for what she had done.

An individual believed to be HOMER CHASE stated that he believed that the discussion held today was useful but that the bluntness indicates a lack of understanding as to the problems in New England.

HY LUMER asked if there was any possibility of building a grass-roots organization in the Democratic Party (in New England?). HOMER CHASE replied that at present he saw no possibility as it is a tightly controlled KENNEDY organization. Informant noted that an individual believed to be [redacted] disagreed with CHASE's remarks, expressing the thought that there was a possibility of developing a grass-roots movement.

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GUS HALL, then apparently directing his comments at CHASE, asked why he disagreed, and he replied that "we" have made wrong estimates regarding the Democratic Party in the past six years. He said he disagreed with the NEC and doubted whether one should continue to be District Organizer when he voted against the NEC and has differences on policy.

Informant advised that GUS HALL recommended that they end the discussion, suggesting that it would be discussed further in the Secretariat, and if the Secretariat decides, they would write something about it.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C265) DATE: 5/12/60

FROM: SA [redacted] (422)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: BORO HALL CLUB, KCCP  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info Boro Hall Club, KCCP meeting, 4/20/60

Date Received 4/21/60

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b7D

Received by SA [redacted] (oral)

Original located NY [redacted]

The following information was furnished by the informant on 4/21/60 and authenticated by the informant on 4/21/60.

A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-116500) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-103936) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-86995) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-71199) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-131529) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-67679) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-109669) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-138552) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-128314-B) (KCCP-FUNDS) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-140528) (COMINFIL, GREATER NY COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA LINE) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C265) (422)

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JTO:mfm  
(15)

100-95583-554

Handwritten initials and a signature are present in the bottom right corner of the page.

NY 100-26603-C265

4/21/60

On 4/20/60, a meeting of the Boro Hall Club, Kings County Communist Party was held at the residence of [redacted] at which the following members were present:

[redacted]

The meeting was scheduled to be held at [redacted] residence, but she did not arrive home from work on time and when the other members arrived at her home and did not find her home, it was decided to hold the meeting at [redacted] residence.

The meeting was concerned with a discussion of JAMES JACKSON's report on the Negro question.

It was announced that more than \$500.00 had been collected toward the Fund Drive quota.

[redacted] was observed paying \$2.00 in dues for the month of April.

It was announced that [redacted] [redacted] were the four members of [redacted] Sane Nuclear Policy group within the Boro Hall Club.

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NY 100-26603-C265

It was also announced that [redacted]  
[redacted] would work with [redacted] in the Red Hook area  
on Sane Nuclear Policy group work in the future.

It was decided that the next meeting of the Boro  
Hall Club would be held on 5/4/60 at the residence of  
[redacted] at which some member of the National Committee  
of the Communist Party would attend as the guest speaker.

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[redacted] announced that her Tenants Council  
at the Fort Greene Project was holding a dance on 4/29/60.

pick up  
5/13/60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1214-Sub G)

Date: 5/13/60

FROM : SA KENNETH J. HUNNEMEDER (421)

SUBJECT: 11th AD CLUB  
HARLEM SECTION, CP, USA  
IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info 11th AD Club of CP Meeting

Date Received 4/20/60

b7D

Received by SA KENNETH J. HUNNEMEDER (oral)

Original located [redacted]

The following information was furnished by [redacted] on 4/20/60 and authenticated by [redacted] on 5/4/60:

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A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - New York [redacted] (Inv) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-82206) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-127818) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-73325) (PAULINE MITLOTS) (424)
- 1 - New York (100-82262) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-114287) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-135198) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-85231) [redacted] (42)
- 1 - New York (100-117542) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-137750) (FNU LAWRENCE) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-118649) (Harlem Tenants Council)
- 1 - New York (100-79303) (Core) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-128815) (CP, USA-NYD- Negro Question) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA-NYD-CP Line) 100-95583-555
- 1 - New York (100-141053) (Manhattan Guild)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C42) (CP, USA NY County) (425) Cu Cu
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1214) (Harlem Section, CP, USA) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1214 Sub G) (421)

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KJH:kmk  
(18)

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CC



NY 100-26603-C1214-Sub G

4/20/60

On 4/15/60 there was a meeting of the 11th AD Club of the Harlem Section CP held at the home of [REDACTED]

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The meeting began at about 8:00 PM and lasted until about 11:30 PM.

The following members were in attendance:

[REDACTED]

PAULINE, white, female, 50 yrs., 5'1", 130-140 lbs., black dyed hair

[REDACTED]

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PAULINE chaired the meeting.

Much of the early part of the meeting, before the arrival of [REDACTED] was taken up by [REDACTED] giving a recent survey of her Party activities. She said that in the last five years she has been in a CP club in West 145th St. near St. Nicholas Ave. After a Regional CP meeting in Harlem several weeks ago she received a transfer to the 11th AD Club which specializes in Tenants work, of which [REDACTED] [REDACTED] also had played a large part.

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[REDACTED] said that she and her husband had been instrumental in forming many tenants councils and community improvement leagues in the Stephen Foster Project at Lenox Ave. and about 115th St., NYC, where they have lived since the opening of the development. But she said that all these organizations had failed because they were unable to interest the Negro and Puerto-Rican elements. Also she said that when they held large meetings and community rallies, city officials and the police of the housing development sat in on the meetings taking notes and this frightened the people away. Another reason for the failure was that the tenants in the development refused, out of some type of snobbery, to work with tenants in the nearby tenements.

NY 100-26603-C1214-Sub G

[redacted] also requested some type of definite guidance from the CP in building up a tenants group within her development. [redacted] PAULINE [redacted] told [redacted] to wait for [redacted] to return to the city from his visit to the south (visiting relatives), in order to get the correct leadership and Party line, and the use of his broad experience in such matters.

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[redacted] told those assembled that the Harlem Tenants Council under leadership of [redacted] is looking for new quarters. They said that [redacted] is interested in a rather large office located at Fifth Ave. between 122nd and 123rd St. The renting of this office could serve as a location for Council office, as well as a meeting place for the Party and a place to hold social affairs.

All the members were enthusiastic about the efforts of CORE and the fine persistence of the students in doing a good job. [redacted] said she has been going on Thursday evenings to picket Woolworth's at Herald Square. She complained that many white people fail to understand the purpose of the picketing, since they think it is for jobs, which Negroes already have in the Woolworth chain. [redacted] seemed confused as far as Party leadership and the Negro Question is concerned. She said there were not enough Negroes on the picket lines, and wanted to know if she should join CORE.

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She was admonished by PAULINE and [redacted] not to try to in anyway direct the action of CORE, that in mass organization work, Party members are supposed to take active part, but not leadership, so as not to harm the work of the groups involved by drawing red-baiters and spies to their ranks.

[redacted] wanted to know just what the Party's position was on South Africa in relation to the recent riots, and why nothing was done on a large scale when this situation of murders and brutality began. [redacted] [redacted] were quite angry, saying that flyers should have been gotten out by the Party immediately, and meetings and mass rallies should have been called by the Party, as [redacted] had requested several weeks ago.

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NY 100-26603-C1214-Sub G

[ ] reminded [ ] that HERB APTHEKER had professed an interest in speaking at these large open-air rallies in Harlem openly as a Communist, sharing the platform with BEN DAVIS and [ ]

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[ ] was very angry and suggested to PAULINE that a memorandum be sent to the County leadership notifying them of the 11th AD's wishes for direction and leadership. He said that some blame must be placed on County and National Leadership for not coming out and taking a position on South African massacre, for allowing the Black Nationalist Moslem Brotherhood in Harlem take the lead, as they have been doing in the past few years.

PAULINE took the position that leadership does not always have to make the policy, that the club really didn't have to wait for them.

[ ] also took an anti-leadership stand. She also felt that the Soviet Union should have immediately dropped diplomatic relations with the Union of South Africa.

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PAULINE, [ ] defended the Soviet Union stating that if this were done, nothing could be accomplished in winning a true and lasting peace, which Peace is what the Soviet Union wants. [ ] said that if the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relation with South Africa there would be no embassy left to get the true facts and report them to the outside world, and the situation would be worse. As it is, the Soviet Embassy is the only one offering safety to political refugees.

[ ] also rejected any idea that the Soviet Union would help in any way the revolutionary activities by the Africans. [ ] stated that the Soviet Union has not taken the lead in the Security Council of the UN discussions on South Africa, but had let the Asian-African group lead the struggle. He said that freeing the African from colonialists must come through non-violent methods. PAULINE stated that freedom must be won by meetings, discussions and United Nations activities.

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NY 100-26603-C1214-Sub G

PAULINE stated that she returned to being an active Party member about two or three years ago when she came into the Harlem CP.

[redacted] paid his dues through [redacted] and [redacted] pays [redacted] monthly because she is unemployed. She previously worked in the Garment area. [redacted] husband works in Local 65 and is going to school every weekday except Friday.

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[redacted] promised to pay something on her fund drive for the CP and her CP dues.

The Manhattan Guild is holding another party on April 23rd and the Harlem CP wanted it known that this party is not a social for Party people alone, but also for others whom the Party members could invite with the idea that these people might be a source of future membership.

At the meeting the chairlady, PAULINE took a vote and all members (not including [redacted] who is not a member but is there on the standing invitation of [redacted] and [redacted] voted to send a Resolution to the County stating that the 11th AD Club requests leadership, guidance, and a statement from the County on the club's desires to organize open-air meetings and to get out flyers on the Communist position regarding South Africa.

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8/21  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

DATE: 5/25/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE  
INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE  
INFORMANT.

*encl 18-60*  
NY 2359-S\* advised that a meeting of leading CP  
functionaries was held this date in the 3rd floor Board Room  
at CP Headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were:

- 2 - Chicago (100-33741) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILL WEINSTONE) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - LINE) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

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(23)

*100-95583-556*

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 26 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*115*

NY 100-80641

GUS HALL  
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.  
CLARENCE HATHAWAY  
IRVING POTASH  
JACK STACHEL  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
WILL WEINSTONE  
HY LUMER  
PHIL BART

According to the informant, the meeting concerned itself with the possible preparation of an editorial for "The Worker" or a Party statement to be issued regarding the Summit meeting.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY opened the discussion and stated that the decisive thing is their (U.S.) asserted right to fly planes at will over another country for the purpose of espionage and also the fact that they now assert that they will take these proposals to the UN, to force them on the Soviet Union. HATHAWAY stated that this indicates that they (U.S.) did not give up this point.

HATHAWAY said that in another paragraph "I" would say that "we" bring in the point that they (U.S.) have their atomic planes constantly in the air and if their radar screen detects any object coming over, they send a whole mass of atomic planes in the direction of the Soviet Union.

IRVING POTASH said that in the "editorial," it should open up with the declaration that "we" deeply regret that the hopes of humanity in the Summit which "we" shared fully could not be realized. He said that "we" must point out that EISENHOWER, in saying that the flights have been suspended, is not enough because that does not recognize the fact that the flights are wrong and could be resumed at any time. "We" should have something in "The Worker" that equips our comrades to handle such questions as the "apology."

NY 100-80641

GUS HALL said "I" think "we" underestimated the seriousness of the crisis. Take the question of the policy of the U.S. - "double-dealing, two-faced, and gangster-like." On the one hand, the U.S. was talking about peace and negotiations and even taking some hesitating steps, but at the same time, following a DULLES policy in preparation for war. "I" am sure that this policy was not unknown to the Soviet Union, but you reach a point that if you allow the U.S. to continue negotiating and to continue preparations for war, then you get to a place where you are betraying the interests of the peace forces of the world. "I" think that the Soviet Union had decided that it had reached a point where you could not continue such a policy.

HALL stated that in his opinion, the situation has stabilized enough so that it is not going to change daily. "I" think we understand that and we do not have to discuss it any more. "We" have urgent problems, and that is how to mobilize the Party to give the Party material, the arguments and the outlook. After the Party is mobilized, we can mobilize the American people. Now JACK STACHEL has something on the concrete questions.

JACK STACHEL then made the following remarks:

The Party must be mobilized ideologically. He proposed that "we" need a statement that will unify and solidify the party ideologically but "hitting out" at this conception that war has now become inevitable. STACHEL said that he would suggest that a group of comrades be selected to prepare what you might call speakers, material, a collection of documents, and statements, etc.

Continuing, STACHEL said, "I" propose that "we" have a special meeting within the next two weeks of all leading personnel in order to reach every member of every club, the idea being that before the month of June is over, "we" have mobilized the Party ideologically through our Party statement, speakers and leading personnel.

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"I" propose that "we" go in the direction of unifying mass progressive peace forces around this situation. Comrades shall place themselves in contact with all left forces that exist around the Soviet-American Friendship Committee, certain national groups, former members of the Progressive Party, the "Guardian" and similar groups.

STACHEL said that "we" should reach out and talk to them personally and ask them what they think should be done in order to determine what joint things might be done. He said that "we" should move in the direction of organizing mass meetings of a united front character.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE suggested the following in order to get the position of the Party before the wide masses of people: (1) GUS HALL should call a press conference (no date mentioned). (2) Possibly a representative of the Party should appear on TV.

BEM DAVIS proposed that a statement should be issued by the Party and that a mass membership meeting should be called, wherein each Party member would bring a non-Party person. DAVIS stated that the Party's view on KHRUSHCHEV's position in Paris is a great attraction to the broad masses of workers because they want to know what the Communists have to say about this situation.

IRVING POTASH commented that what KHRUSHCHEV said must be presented in a reasonable way. He said that a statement by the Party would be good, but more is needed. He suggested mass distribution of peace literature on this issue. POTASH also suggested that a meeting should be called under the auspices of "The Worker" and not the Party, in order to give a Communist Party spokesman an opportunity to explain what happened and what is the position of the Party.

Regarding the above, it is noted that on 5/18/60, NY 2353-S\* advised that WILLIAM ALBERTSON, (CPUSA-NYD Organization



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Secretary), mentioned that an open meeting would be held on 5/25/60 at 7:30 p.m. at Central Plaza Annex, NYC, at which GUS HALL would speak on "What Happened at the Summit." According to ALBERTSON, the affair would be sponsored by "Friends of The Worker" and JAMES JACKSON would be the Chairman of this affair.

The above is set out for informational purposes.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)  
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-4379)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
IS - C

DATE: 5/26/60

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
①6 - New York (RM)  
1 - 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY)  
1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)  
1 - 100-26108 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)  
1 - 100- [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-9595 (WILL WEINSTONE)  
1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)  
1 - 100-1696 (ELIZABETH G. FLYNN)  
1 - 100-79025 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)  
1 - 100-128814 (CP ORGANIZATION)  
① - 100- (CP LINE)  
1 - 100- (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATION)  
1 - 100-128816 (NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSION)  
1 - 100-128822 (CP EDUCATION)  
1 - 100-128815 (NEGRO QUESTION)  
1 - 100-128821 (CP FACTIONALISM)  
1 - Los Angeles (RM)  
1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
2 - San Francisco (RM)  
1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA)  
1 - 100- (CP EDUCATION)  
5 - Minneapolis (RM)  
1 - 100- [REDACTED]  
1 - 100- (CLARENCE SHARP)  
1 - 100-371 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100- (STAN (LNU))  
1 - 100- (FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE)  
1 - Philadelphia (RM)  
1 - 100- (BEN (LNU))  
8 - Buffalo  
1 - 100-10454 (MORTIMER SCHEER)  
1 - 100-11899 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-7708 [REDACTED]  
1 - 61-55 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-4379-69 (CP ORGANIZATION)  
1 - 100-4379-71 (EDUCATION)  
1 - 100-4379-106 (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATION)  
1 - 100-4379-91 (NATIONAL GROUP COMMITTEE)  
1 - 100-14570 [REDACTED]

CES:rac  
(37)

100-95583-557

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 31 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Handwritten initials and signatures are present over the stamp and to its right.

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BU 100-4379

[redacted] advised on 4/29/60 that CLARENCE HATHAWAY, Chairman, NYSCP, arrived in Buffalo, N. Y., at 3:45 PM via American Airlines and was met at the airport by MORTIMER SCHEER, Erie County CP Organizer and Upstate NY CP Coordinator. HATHAWAY spent the weekend in Buffalo to participate in the celebration of May Day by the Erie County CP. He departed Buffalo late on 5/1/60.

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[redacted] advised further that on the evening of 4/29/60, HATHAWAY and SCHEER engaged in a general conversation about the New York State CP, with SCHEER filling in HATHAWAY on the present status of the Erie County CP and HATHAWAY giving a general outline of his impressions regarding the NYSCP. Informant was unable to obtain the full text of the discussion between the two persons but their comments are being set forth in this memorandum as overheard by source.

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HATHAWAY remarked that he and his wife were given a farewell party by the CP in Minnesota on their departure for New York. This affair was attended by both CP and non-CP people. He stated that members of the CP are discriminated against in Minnesota just as they are in New York. [redacted] of Minnesota Governor ORVILLE FREEMAN, [redacted] of ART SHIELDS, is [redacted] of a CP member. The CP in Minnesota is working to get back into the National Farm Labor Party and is encountering considerable success. HATHAWAY stated that it is now time for former CP members to return to the CP and to establish themselves as they had in the past.

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HATHAWAY commented to SCHEER that BEN DAVIS is not pleased over his appointment as National Secretary in charge of Negro work. He further complained that the CP has no broad united front in this country today.

MORTIMER SCHEER then undertook to describe the situation of the CP in Erie County in order to bring HATHAWAY up to date on this area.

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SCHEER mentioned that there are several club presidents in the Erie County CP who are engaged in mass work. They were recently elected to this position because of their work in this field; however, since their election, they have turned out to be merely chairmen and not club organizers in the true sense and it has been difficult for them to maintain both their club work and their mass work. He complained that the local CP is in a state of confusion because everybody "plays all positions." SCHEER stated that the local CP clubs have been reorganized and consolidated and that an old CP organizer [redacted] a very astute comrade, is now back in the CP leadership again. He added that a problem has arisen out of the consolidation of clubs in that as soon as the club membership reaches 8 or 9 persons, there is no supervision of mass work.

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SCHEER told HATHAWAY that several Negro CP members had been won back to the CP recently. HATHAWAY told SCHEER that mass activity must be spread out among the members.

SCHEER commented that the basic trouble with the local CP is that its leadership has rested for the past few years in the hands of "colonizers," most of whom are former professors from New York City who came to Buffalo in 1952 to 1954 as part of the "unavailable division" of the CP and who were unable to keep their jobs because of lack of seniority or because of exposure by the "Un-American Committee" (HCUA). SCHEER said that these colonizers irritated many of the native CP members.

HATHAWAY asked SCHEER if he had any contact with the Puerto Rican community in Buffalo. SCHEER replied that there are about 5,000 Puerto Ricans here, but the CP had no contact with them. He added, however, that the local CP has established contact with other nationality groups, including the old IWO group and with several individuals. He hoped that they would be able to set up a committee among these nationality groups soon.

HATHAWAY told SCHEER that the National CP hopes to publish a special issue of "The Worker" with one full page printed in Spanish for the benefit of Puerto Ricans. The National CP plans to establish a nationality group to which will be assigned CP members for leadership. He mentioned that one person went out and recruited about 100 Ukrainians throughout the U.S. He stated that one LOUIS (LNU) (possibly

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WEINSTOCK) was assigned to the Hungarian Group, and in the Bronx, [redacted] was given some assignment, which was not determined by [redacted]

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SCHNEER interjected that one of the problems he has faced is that of the [redacted] whom subject described as a non-Jewish younger comrade, who is devoted but has been quite ill and has not been able to keep up with the mass work. SCHNEER said he tried to limit [redacted] in his activity by taking over some of his assignments and he has not been able to find out where this young man can make the best contribution.

SCHNEER also spoke about another comrade, a [redacted] about [redacted] who is handling [redacted] [redacted] He said this person was a good comrade but others have complained because she is not in mass work. SCHNEER said that nobody other than himself tries to go out and canvass for "The Worker" and he does not feel that he has succeeded in organizing the cadre in the best way possible. He said he did not feel he could do it all by himself. SCHNEER said that [redacted] whom he described as a key mass figure, has done a good job but the CP in Buffalo does not have many Negroes.

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SCHNEER told HATHAWAY that he had called a meeting of the CP Board for the morning of 4/30/60 and wanted to discuss the problem of mass work. He told HATHAWAY that the CP Board consists of about 9 people and that it meets every other week. He asked HATHAWAY to meet with the Board and give his "advice on the role that the CP staff should play" and how they can best develop what cadre they have. HATHAWAY commented that SCHNEER was apparently working on a long range perspective and SCHNEER admitted that he was and that it was time to pin them down. HATHAWAY suggested that the various CP clubs should have a division of responsibility, with one person responsible for getting the club together for meetings and another for furnishing leadership in the meetings and actually the leader who does the thinking for the club.

HATHAWAY told SCHNEER that in Minnesota the CP has a full time District Organizer (DO), who conducts classes, is the educational leader and prepares material for (this portion unintelligible). The DO also travels out in the State covering St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, etc. Another old fellow, CLARENCE

(phonetic) SHARP, pensioner, is paid \$20.00 a week and expenses and sent out into the farm country. Lately, the DO and CLARENCE (SHARP) have gone out together making contacts so that if anything should happen to CLARENCE, the contacts would be known to the DO. He said they are gone on trips of 10 days to 2 weeks. HATHAWAY named the DO as STAN (phonetic) (LNU) and the Organizer as CLARENCE (SHARP).

HATHAWAY further stated that in Minnesota, the contacts connected with mass work are made through the Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee, which is made up of both CP and non-CP people. The Chairman of this committee makes trips throughout the state to build the press and there are also music and choral groups associated with the committee. They hold lectures, culturalals and bazaars for the raising of money. HATHAWAY jokingly referred to an elderly man whom he described as a "real town character, an Irishman who would approach the Mayor or Chief of Police to sell them 'The Worker.'" He said that the Freedom of the Press Committee does not publish too many leaflets directly in the name of the CP, but puts them out through the committee or some other mass organization. HATHAWAY said that the Club Organizer conducts a class in Minneapolis and another member of the District Committee conducts a class at St. Paul. He added that the Party Organizer, STAN (phonetic), is very well known in Minnesota, formerly an editor of the timber workers' paper and is a native of Minnesota, as is HATHAWAY. Latter stated that for this reason, no one could tell him to go back to where he came from.

HATHAWAY told SCHEER that he thought the most important task for him to undertake was leadership in education work. SCHEER replied that he has been doing that, has conducted 2 classes and is planning another. HATHAWAY pointed out to SCHEER that when [redacted] started to build the CP in St. Petersburg, Russia, he was not a worker but started to meet with worker groups, instructing the masses and helping them with their grievances and working with them on the preparation and distribution of leaflets, which were not published in the name of the CP.

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HATHAWAY asked SCHEER if the Organizational Secretary [redacted] would be able to get together a group of young people, not necessarily CP members, to hold a study group.

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HATHAWAY said that it was the responsibility of either of them to get such a class started. He told about MICKEY LIMA in San Francisco, who the last time he talked to him in the National Committee meeting, had 29 young people in a class. LIMA said he wanted to split this class in half and that the group was composed of young workers and students who were from 18 to 22 years of age.

HATHAWAY also told SCHEER about a report made by GUS HALL, who had just returned from Philadelphia on the weekend of 4/24/60, to the effect that the whole CP in Philadelphia has changed. HALL had gone to Philadelphia because of a rumor of a purge going on there but learned, instead, that the CP there is accomplishing excellent work, particularly with young people. HALL, who was there on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, met with the youth group on Sunday and found it a most inspiring experience. HATHAWAY said that the experiences of youths in Korea, Japan and Turkey have caused the young people in this country to become more aware of their importance in the world situation and he urged that SCHEER and his Organizational Secretary work out some youth program.

SCHEER replied that [redacted] has brought one of the Negro youths he knows into the study group that SCHEER is now conducting and that he, SCHEER, has brought in a young white man, a young Negro woman and a young Polish woman into his class.

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SCHEER told HATHAWAY that the morning of 4/30/60 would be devoted to a CP Staff meeting at the home of [redacted] and the afternoon would be devoted to a meeting with some of the key mass workers.

MORTIMER SCHEER asked CLARENCE HATHAWAY about the condition of the New York State CP payroll, mentioning that he has been under pressure from his wife because of financial problems. HATHAWAY pointed out that SCHEER is one of 11 full-time employees on the payroll but some re-examination is under consideration toward reducing the State CP Office Staff to about 3 people. HATHAWAY said he has discussed this with GUS HALL and has proposed that the State Staff include the existing County Organizer covering all of Manhattan and the Bronx, another Organizer for Brooklyn, Queens and all of Long Island, and one trouble shooter who doesn't confine his activities to any one place. HATHAWAY said he was not proposing the liquidation of all

of the positions, but a re-examination of them from the standpoint of how they can best function. He complained that it will be necessary to streamline the staff because it now takes 2 weeks to make a decision and carry it out. He said that it will be necessary to eliminate duplication of effort by starting at the bottom of the organization and working up and that the situation in the past has been a mess because the County Organizers, who meet with the staff every Thursday, would relay decisions to the clubs, piling on a "conglomeration of stuff" with the result that the clubs do not even consider it.

HATHAWAY said that there are 20 members of the National Committee in the New York area. WEINSTONE is in Queens, JACKSON is in Washington Heights, and other comrades are scattered around. He said he is trying to get these persons to take the responsibility for several clubs. He has succeeded in getting these officers to visit each of the clubs and help them in applying the CP line developed at the Convention and by the National Committee. Each club has the opportunity to send an invitation to the CP official they want and the officials are pretty well assigned so that during the next two weeks or so, everyone of them has at least 3 meetings with different clubs during a week.

SCHEER spoke of a meeting of the New York State CP Board to be held on 5/12/60 and asked if he was expected to attend. HATHAWAY promised to let SCHEER know if the agenda required his presence. He said that this meeting will pick up a discussion of the question of the working relations of the staff and iron out past differences to smooth out these working relations. He said that this sort of discussion could open up into a nasty, difficult situation and that a lot of things are raised thoughtlessly without regard to their effect. He said it should be a matter of policy to work on these differences before they become political issues by discussing them with HATHAWAY or any member of the CP Staff, rather than making the issues subjects of controversy at a large meeting of the National Committee. HATHAWAY said that he is trying conscientiously to avoid raising questions concerning people in a way that could humiliate or put a comrade on the spot. He said he did not think this should be done with the local CP members. Along this line, HATHAWAY told SCHEER that the National Committee meeting was not only objective but constructive, but at the very end the election of the National Executive Committee was raised and



immediately a nasty situation developed over the fact that (ELIZABETH) GURLEY FLYNN said she was outraged by being the only woman on the Committee, especially since she would be 70 years of age in September, and when she reached that age she was "going to pasture." She demanded another woman on the Board and the only one who could be considered of national status was DOROTHY HEALEY, who is the only woman organizer in the Party. All members of the Secretariat were in favor of putting DOROTHY HEALEY on the Committee except BEN DAVIS, who was prejudiced because of her past role. It was agreed that if there was a controversy over DOROTHY HEALEY and GURLEY FLYNN, they would select a Committee without a woman on it, but if they brought in a Committee with some other woman on it besides GURLEY FLYNN, then a controversy would arise because the other woman should be a Negro. The Committee decided that if the Secretariat could not resolve the question, then they would add 4 persons from the National Committee to the Secretariat, making it 11, to thrash the problem out and make recommendations to the Convention Committee. As a result, 4 persons, including HATHAWAY and [redacted] were proposed, the latter by BEN DAVIS. DAVIS was finally convinced that DOROTHY (HEALEY) should be included in the Committee. HATHAWAY cautioned SCHEER to avoid such situations as he had just described because they are "touchy things" and always become a personal problem.

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SCHEER inquired as to whether he should mention to any of the comrades in Buffalo, N. Y., that there are certain problems existing in the State leadership. HATHAWAY replied that he should be very careful about doing this or about indicating in any way that there was a crisis. He said there was a danger in this and told SCHEER that DOROTHY (HEALEY) was very closely associated with the extreme right faction in the convention but HATHAWAY had had a number of talks with her prior to the convention and discussed with her her convention report, which HATHAWAY said was a "self-annihilating report and that if she gave it at the convention, she would be just about getting up and undressing herself." She took HATHAWAY's advice and fell into line with the convention and avoided controversy.

SCHEER said that he had sent a letter to the CP Staff and showed this letter to several others on the CP Staff in Buffalo before he sent it. HATHAWAY said he did not condemn the letter as SCHEER was merely getting off his chest how he felt, but he did complain that SCHEER addressed the letter to the Staff instead of to him, HATHAWAY. He took SCHEER to task for the fact

BU 100-4379

that he criticized what HATHAWAY had said on a particular occasion which gave the letter an anti-HATHAWAY complex. As a result, GUS HALL reacted against the letter. HATHAWAY said he had become accustomed to criticism of this sort but, as GUS HALL pointed out, it will be necessary for CP members to learn to have respect for one another and to avoid humiliating another person or yelling at them when they speak. He said that one gets nowhere by pounding someone else over the head or sticking knives into him and that there must be a certain warmth and friendship between comrades; one's shortcomings must be understood from the viewpoint of being helpful to that person and using a whip does no good.

In the event any of the above information is reported, it should be suitably paragraphed in order to protect a valuable confidential source.

Names inserted in parentheses have been supplied by Agent.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC [redacted]  
FROM: SA ROBERT C. NORTON  
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: June 21, 1960

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The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted]	5/26/60 CP District Board Meeting	5/31/60	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

- ⑥ - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)  
FUNDS  
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
CP LINE  
PHIL BART  
[redacted]
- 1 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)  
[redacted]
- 1 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)  
COMINFIL NALC

- 100-10975
- 100-10584
- 100-12412
- 100-12076
- 100-9665
- 100-1611
- 100-18684
- 100-18683
- 100-12598
- 100-12471
- 100-20764
- 100-1708

[redacted]

GEORGE MEYERS

[redacted]

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23 - Baltimore

- [redacted]
- 100-12464 ORGANIZATION
- 100-11640 FUNDS
- 100-13098 CP LINE
- 100-12458 FACTIONALISM
- 100-15420 FOPC
- 100-12170 MEMBERSHIP
- 100-12462 YOUTH MATTERS
- 100-12948 THE WORKER
- 100-11800 BRIEF FILE
- 100-12125 PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS

RCN:dfm  
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100-95583-558

SEARCHED <i>GA</i>	INDEXED <i>GA</i>
SERIALIZED <i>GA</i>	FILED <i>GA</i>
JUN 24 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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BALTIMORE, MD.	
JUNE 21, 1960	
<i>NJ</i>	

*RJ*

"Baltimore, Maryland  
May 31, 1960

"The following report concerns a Maryland - D. C. CP District Board meeting held May 26, 1960, at the home of [redacted]

[redacted] Also present at the meeting in addition to [redacted] were [redacted]

After a preliminary phone call at about 5:30 p.m., GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman of the District Board, came to [redacted] home at about 6:20 p.m. and advised that he could not attend the District Board meeting that evening. He then gave [redacted] a list of things that he wanted [redacted] to bring up at the meeting: the formation of a CP Press Club which would include [redacted] CP District Committee member, [redacted] CP Community Section member; a transfer of [redacted] to the CP Steel Club; the transfer of [redacted] to the CP Ship Club; the monthly payment of CP dues to the National Office and the monthly payment of CP literature money to New York; a discussion on peace along lines laid down by the last National Committee meeting; and a report by [redacted] on the results of her last contact with [redacted] CP Community Section member.

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MEYERS then instructed [redacted] to determine the location of the CP meeting to be held the following night, the main speaker to be a person from California, who had participated in demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee in that area. MEYERS instructed [redacted] to notify [redacted] to attend a meeting to be held the following night.

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MEYERS then handed GREEN a letter dated May 25, 1960, headed Organizational Commission which indicated that the next meeting of the CP National Organizational Commission would be held June 11, 1960, instead of June 3, 1960, with the order of business to be (1) the peace movement, (2) development of mass activity, (3) our Party. The letter also said that the meeting would be opened by ARNOLD JOHNSON and would be followed by reports and discussion by the

[redacted]

various District representatives. The letter was signed PHIL BART.

MEYERS then left.

[redacted] then went to [redacted] home arriving there about 9:00 p.m. He found [redacted] there.

[redacted] then explained MEYERS' absence and mentioned that MEYERS had given him a list of things to be raised at the meeting.

The meeting got under way about 9:15 p.m.

[redacted] then gave a Press Club report telling of the May 20, 1960. Freedom of the Press Committee affair with [redacted]

[redacted] then told [redacted] of his trip to New York City to attend the CP National Organizational Commission meeting May 7, 1960, and events which had taken place at the last District Board meeting.

[redacted] then raised the proposal to transfer [redacted] to the Steel Club.

[redacted] asked what had happened to Youth Club. [redacted] replied that [redacted] had pointed out to him that the youth meetings had produced nothing of value and that [redacted] wanted to form a CP Press Club, drop out of youth, and concentrate on selling subscriptions to "The Worker" and raising funds for "The Worker".

[redacted] then said that the CP Press Club was to have included himself, [redacted] but that the latter person had indicated that activities in the CP Community Section were all that he could handle.

[redacted] then said that [redacted] transfer to the CP Ship Club was not a good idea since [redacted] had no trade union background and did not have the working class approach. He suggested [redacted] transfer to the CP Community Section.

[redacted] asked if youth activities would continue. [redacted] replied that [redacted] felt it best to keep the Youth Club

[redacted]

members active in other fields at the present time but allowing them freedom to work on youth on the side.

[redacted] then said that he considered [redacted] transfer to the CP Ship Club a temporary setup and did not think that his transfer to any other club would be of greater value.

[redacted] then mentioned that [redacted] CP Youth Club member, who was running for union office in Local 2610, USA-CIO, had been told by [redacted] that if he ran for such office he would have to leave the Party and as a result was very upset. [redacted] said that [redacted] should have been told that he was only dropping out of the CP officially and not actually.

[redacted] then said that the monthly payments or dues would be handled as requested by the National Organizational Commission.

[redacted] then asked whether the CP treasury would repay him the \$55 which he had given to [redacted] so the latter could attend the National Convention of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit, May 27-29, 1960.

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[redacted] got very excited pointing out that there was no money in the treasury.

[redacted] then said that the latter had been discussed at the last District Board meeting. [redacted] being absent and it was decided to send [redacted] pointed out that the CP National leaders had directed that active participation in trade union work and youth should take place whenever the opportunities presented themselves. He said the Party was not interested in building treasuries but in building the CP.

[redacted] then criticized the CP Community Section for its failure to contribute financially and physically to Party activities recently and noted that the Negro comrades were doing all the work.

[redacted] then said that [redacted] was directing the remarks specifically at her.

[redacted] said that he did not have her particularly in mind and

[redacted]

was thinking more of the entire Northwest Section. He again stressed the need for CP activity.

[redacted] then said that he wanted a complete picture on the local financial situation since national leaders were demanding that each District give the full picture of both physical and financial activity. He said that as District Organizer he planned to appear at all CP club meetings and make this clear to all of the membership.

[redacted] then agreed with [redacted] that the latter should appear before the various CP clubs.

[redacted] then again raised the question of the \$55 owed to [redacted] replied that there was only \$60 in the treasury.

[redacted] then handed [redacted] a CP literature bill which indicated the District owed \$24 and some cents.

[redacted] then said he had \$15 collected by him which would help towards the expenses of [redacted] trip and said that if [redacted] was unable to raise the rest of the money, the Negro comrades could probably handle it.

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[redacted] then said that when [redacted] next saw MEYERS to tell him that she had called [redacted] but had not yet met with him concerning the preparation of a leaflet for the CP.

Upon inquiry from [redacted] as to the CP meeting to be held the following day, [redacted] replied that MEYERS had received a call from New York and that a visitor was coming to Baltimore who had been active in causing demonstrations against the HUAC in California recently. He said that the meeting would be held at the home of [redacted]

[redacted] then said that she had received an invitation to join a CP Educational Committee of some kind but that the entrance fee was \$10. She said she would like to join but could only give \$5 towards the cost.

[redacted] instructed her to take the money in the treasury.

The meeting ended about 11:10 p.m."

This memo has been compared with informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

[REDACTED]

The person from California who had participated in demonstrations against the HUAC in California is FRANK WILKINSON. (See later reports of [REDACTED])

b7D

On May 31, 1960, [REDACTED] furnished SA ROBERT C. NORTON a typed agenda for the 5/26/60 CP District Board meeting prepared and signed by GEORGE MEYERS which he had secured from MEYERS 5/26/60. This document is being kept in [REDACTED]



OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128816) (414)

DATE: 6/23/60

FROM: SA [redacted] (423)

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SUBJECT: CP, USA, NYD, NATIONAL GROUPS  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past (Conceal)

b7D

Description of info Meeting of Minor Press Club, held at Lithuanian Hall, 125th Street and Lexington Ave. 5/26/60

Date Received 5/31/60

Received by SA [redacted] (Written)

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b7D

Original Located [redacted]

A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) (423)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-26776) (CHARLES DIRBA) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-56820) [redacted] (423)
- 1 - New York (100-82382) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-11730) [redacted] (423)
- 1 - New York (100-68196) [redacted] (31)
- 1 - New York (100-21431) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-33408) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-95097) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-95501) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-26754) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-3620) (ACPEB) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-109966) [redacted] (41)
- 1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, LINE) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-128816) (414)

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COD:ml  
(17) *WMS*

*100-95583-559*

SEARCHED .....	INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED .....	FILED .....
JUN 23 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-128816

May 30th, 60

Meeting of the Minor Press Club held at Lithuanian Hall, 125th St. and Lexington Ave., on Thursday, May 26th, 8 p.m.

Present: JACK STACHEL, CHARLES DIRBA, VITO MAGLI, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, two other elderly men & BORIS.

[REDACTED] is going on a trip to Poland and so is ALEX ROSEN who is going to Hungary.

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There was a brief report on the American Committee, by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] He said that [REDACTED] had to be released because of illness, that the Committee is reorganizing its forces and needs our utmost support. Spoke about the [REDACTED] cases, how we must play up these deportation cases in our press. He urged maximum publicity of the June 26th picnic. All reported that their respective publications always publish the American Committee material. It was agreed that the Committee participates at these meetings and keep the group informed, especially in its future fight for a statute of limitations in the deportation cases.

The only other point on the agenda was a report by STACHEL on the failure of the Summit meeting. He reported that the GUS HALL meeting was attended by almost 400 people. He hailed this new approach by the party to give a line to the most active comrades, immediately, especially when we don't have a daily newspaper.

He made a long analysis, to demonstrate how the CP of the SU, since STALIN's death has adopted a more flexible policy, yes a more "tolerant policy" toward capitalism. But imperialism thought that this was weakness, not knowing that the leaders of the SU had their eyes opened to the intrigues of imperialism. He quoted [REDACTED] and STALIN (something new after several years of silence) to the effect that co-existence does not mean that we

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NY 100-128816

forget the evils of capitalism, that we forget internationalism. He referred to the Laval-USSR Pact.... that, one thing was diplomatic relations between two states, and another thing of the continuous responsibility of the French Communists to the working class, and its struggle to win political power in France...Imperialism has not and will not change. It is the relation of forces that have created new elements in world relationship...And than, STACHEL quoted the last part of KRUSHIOV speech where he stated that he did not know which forces will emerge victorious in the USA (referring to K speech on his return from the USA) He said, that the many articles in the Soviet press and communist press generally, shows that the ideological struggle goes on. It would be infantile not to do so. Imperialism wants a status quo. We definitely don't want it. Let the people decide it. Spoke about the revolts in S.Korea, Turkey etc. as demonstrations that the people are tired of being ruled by militarists, and lackeys of US imperialism. All in all it was a definite new line, a reversal of previous statements of cooperation, co-existence: we must find new ways to live together...STACHEL, asked, if there was any dissension between the Soviet Union and China answered evasively. But hinted enough to create the impression that there was some understanding. He cited for example that several of the Chinese theoretical publications and the Peking Review have spoken very little on the 21st Party Congress and the 12th Nations Declaration...Well, we will have to see. Let's not get alarmed. Let us not forget that Chinese territory is still occupied by foreign forces, and their reaction to us had to be different than that of the Soviet Union. Small difference, and different approach to certain things does not imply difference in major issues, in ideology.

He concluded by asking all to familiarize with the background material which is being published by the Soviet Union and our press. To stress in our press, the dissatisfaction with NIXON and EISENHOWER. All seemed to have agreed with the outline presented by STACHEL. We have the imperialists on the run... naturally peace and disarmament will still have to be pressed.....

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We are the champion of peace.....the Soviet Union has everything to gain with peace....therefore it is the Pentagon that wants to provoke war.

The meeting closed at 10:20 p.m.

FBI

DATE: 23 JUN 1960

Transmit the following via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of information herein as, by its nature, said information tends to identify CG 5824-S, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is verified by other sources, it should not be incorporated, even in paraphrased form, in the investigative section of a report.

- 5-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- (1-100-3-81) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1-100- ) (CP, USA LINE)
- 1-Chicago (134-46) (CG 5824-S) (INFO) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (100- ) (MORRIS CHILDS) (RM)
- 1-New York 66-6989 (INV.) (41)
- 1-New York 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
- 1-New York 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (415)
- 1-New York 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-New York 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1-New York 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1-New York 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-New York 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- 1-New York 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
- 1-New York 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1-New York 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER) (415)
- 1-New York 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1-New York 100-128255 [redacted] (415)
- 1-New York 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (414)
- 1-New York 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1-New York 100-80641 (415)

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ACB:ume  
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*[Handwritten signature]*

100-95583-560

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
JUN 23 1960  
FBI - NEW YORK

*[Handwritten signature]*

NY 100-80641

On 6/23/60, CG 5824-S advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that on 6/22/60, there was held at CP Headquarters in NYC a special meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat, attended not only by Secretariat members, but also by a number of invited guests. Present were the following: GUS HALL, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JAMES JACKSON, JACK STACHEL, IRVING POTASH, MORRIS CHILDS, JAMES ALLEN, ARNOLD JOHNSON, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, HYMAN LUMER, PHIL BART, [REDACTED] and WILLIAM WEINSTONE. The meeting continued until late afternoon.

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GUS HALL submitted a report reflecting the conflict between the Soviets and the Chinese regarding the interpretation of Marxist-Leninist dogma. The report also contained an analysis of the current world situation. The agenda at the meeting is to remain a secret among those who attended, but HALL's speech, as well as the remarks of others at the meeting, were tape recorded. The Party may subsequently publish a document based on HALL's report and the remarks of those at the meeting, but the document will not expressly reflect that its basis was such.

The majority at the meeting agreed with the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism with respect to co-existence and the inevitability of war. ARNOLD JOHNSON and BEN DAVIS seemed to lean toward the Chinese position but finally agreed with the majority. DAVIS "talked out of both sides of his mouth."

It was agreed that despite the fact that the CP, USA opposes the Chinese position, it will not "line up and take sides now." The CP, USA firmly agrees with the KHRUSHCHEV thesis that war is not inevitable, and that peaceful co-existence is quite possible.

HALL emphasized the necessity of keeping secret the nature of the discussion at the meeting. He stated that "enemy agents" and the press, in the hope of destroying confidence in Marxism-Leninism and exaggerating the dispute between the Soviets and the Chinese, are "pushing" for a

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wide-open discussion of the matter within the CP, USA.

According to the informant, HALL, LUMER, JACKSON, BART, CHILDS and POTASH, after the meeting adjourned, continued the discussion at the Chelsea Hotel. The opinions expressed at this meeting were in agreement with those expressed at the formal meeting.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) DATE: 6/27/60  
FROM: SA [redacted]  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

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ReNYairtel to Bureau, 6/23/60, captioned as above.

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

The following information has been forwarded to the Bureau and Chicago via referenced airtel. Further dissemination of this information is being made by means of this memo.

- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1-NY 100-9595 (WILL WEINSTONE) (414)
- 1-NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1-NY 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1-NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1-NY 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- 1-NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1-NY 100-128255 [redacted] (415)
- 1-NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1-NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA-LINE) (415)
- 1-NY 100-87211 (CP, USA-FACTIONALISM) (415)
- 1-NY 100-20789 (W. E. B. DU BOIS) (422)
- 1-NY 100-97167 ("POLITICALAFFAIRS") (415)
- 1-NY 100-80532 (HERB APTHEKER) (415)
- 1-NY 100-80641 (415)

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HCO:ume  
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*[Handwritten signature]*

100-95583-561

Searched.....	Indexed.....
Serialized.....	Filed.....
JUN 27 1960	
FBI-New York	
<i>[Handwritten initials]</i>	



NY 100-80641

On 6/22/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that on the above date a meeting of the CP, USA-Secretariat and invited guests was held in the third floor board room at CP Headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were: GUS HALL, JACK STACHEL, BEN DAVIS, JR., WILL WEINSTONE, HY LUMER, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, JIM JACKSON, JIM ALLEN, IRVING POTASH, [REDACTED] PHIL BART, MORRIS CHILDS and ARNOLD JOHNSON. The meeting was chaired by GUS HALL.

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Informant advised that prior to the formal opening of the meeting, GUS HALL announced that the presentation of the International Peace Prize to Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS would be on 6/23/60. HALL said that they had a number of tickets and that TRACHTY (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) and LOUIE (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) were going.

HY LUMER next announced that the Education Committee had agreed to form an editorial board for "PA" ("Political Affairs") and that this board is to report back to the Secretariat. LUMER then proposed that the editorial board should consist of five members: HERB (APTHEKER), JIM ALLEN, [REDACTED] IRVING (POTASH) and himself. WILL WEINSTONE expressed the opinion that the editorial board was not large enough and should contain more writers and act rather as a contributing board than an editorial board.

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GUS HALL moved that they accept the proposal of HY LUMER, adding that when the board makes its report to the Secretariat, a full discussion would be held at that time. Proposal accepted.

GUS HALL opened the Secretariat meeting by stating that there are important discussions going on in the world Marxist movement relating to questions which are important to all nations. He said "we" want to take part in such discussion; however, this raised certain responsibilities that should be understood and accepted by the Party leadership. HALL noted that discussion could strengthen the Party. However, if the discussions were not properly conducted, they could be destructive.

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HALL stated that proper discussion could consolidate the ranks, but again, he reiterated that improper discussion could rekindle the flames of factionalism. He said the type of discussion rests with the leadership and is a test of the maturity of the Party leadership. He said "we" must be able to recognize disagreements for their good because "the enemy" has used our confusion and misunderstanding very effectively. HALL proposed that they should not plan for an all-inclusive discussion, adding that thoughts "exchanged here remain here."

HALL stated that the range of discussions that are taking place under the new concept of the world situation today include the following:

1. The problem of coexistence.
2. The peace question.
3. The question of inevitability of war.
4. The right and left dangers.
5. The peaceful transition to socialism.
6. The result of a nuclear war.
7. Disarmament and its effects.
8. The role and nature of imperialism.
9. The question of jumping or skipping stages in the journey towards socialism and communism.

HALL noted that the last question did not apply to this country as "we" have not reached that stage yet. HALL commented that discussion should not take on two diametrical points of view but should be based on interpretations of the questions. He said that since the U-2 and the Summit, the whole Marxist movement and the socialist world has shifted in

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a direction of sharp attack on imperialism, especially American imperialism. He said this resulted from the self-exposure of the American imperialists. "We" are in a most difficult position of how to handle this question. There are two problems-- how to properly (effect?) this question theoretically and strategically and at the same time place it in such a way that the Party gives leadership to the American people in bringing them along in this exposure.

HALL stated that the Party should keep in mind the differences and relationships of countries to each other. China, being under the guns of American imperialism, with gun boats off its shores, has to have a different approach than the Soviet Union, which has diplomatic relations with all countries and which has become the number one power in the world. The peace struggle in each of these must have different emphasis. He said leading communists show a difference in what they say; however, they all emphasize the unity of the socialist camp.

HALL remarked that the resolution passed at the Party's 17th Convention, which set out the basic political line of the Party, has held up exceptionally well in the light of the momentous events of the past four months. As an example, HALL quoted from the resolution the statement which he said is still the political line of the Party today:

"Wall Street monopoly capitalism is no longer the sole of dominant force determining the destiny of mankind. Socialism, embracing one-third of the world's population, has emerged as an invincible world system, guaranteeing the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The victorious upsurge of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has undermined imperialist colonialism and kindled a flame of national independence among all oppressed people. The mounting peace movement in our country and throughout the capitalist world has gained new momentum. Thus even the new forms by which U.S. imperialism hopes to continue its drive for world power and influence are now confronted by the

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"powerful challenge of superior world forces determined to win a durable and lasting peace. The dominant position of world monopoly capitalism long uncontested is being increasingly challenged on all sides by its (captured?) competitors, by an expanding group of newly liberated countries and most of all by the Socialist world which now seeks to surpass the achievements of U.S. capitalism in all areas of human endeavor."

HALL stated that the EISENHOWER Administration has not embarked on a good course to end the cold war and the cold war is far from ended. He said that the cold war advocates are determined to halt the trend towards peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition.

HALL commented that although the documents setting out the political line of the Party have held up well, there have been certain weaknesses in agitation. He said that the Chinese Party was correct in its statement that the nature of imperialism basically will not change and there is a consciousness in the world Marxist movement against drawing "wrong conclusions" from the propaganda of coexistence. He said it is not enough merely to say that the nature of imperialism has not changed.

HALL then quoted from some speeches which he said were made at "The World Federation of Trade Union Congress" as follows (place and date of Congress not stated).

"It is entirely wrong to think that war can be eliminated forever while imperialism still exists." "The proposals for disarmament made by the Soviet Union should be supported but it is inconceivable that the imperialists will accept proposals for general and complete disarmament." "Only when a Socialist revolution is victorious throughout the world can there be a world free of war, a world without arms." "Such a world is inconceivable while imperialism still exists." "To reach agreement on banning of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries should continue to develop their lead in the sphere of atomic energy

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"and at the same time, the people throughout the world should wage a more intensive struggle against imperialism and against nuclear weapons." "The Soviet Union has arisen to at least equal status, if not more, with the United States. New tactical and strategic concepts have to be considered. The balance of the world forces have shifted to the side of socialism and the camp of peace and from that flows some conclusions which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has described."

HALL next stated that what was new in the world today is that the factors that emerged from the system of capitalist imperialism which push toward war are not the only factors in existence. The factors that move in the opposite direction arise from the system of socialism which has become the dominant factor in the world. He said that many articles have been written to the effect that struggles will not end with a policy of coexistence. There is no coexistence in the field of ideology. The class struggle does not end with the policy of coexistence.

HALL stated that in a country like America, the Party must keep in mind that the most persistent danger in the ideological field would be the influence of the ruling class and the bourgeoisie in the direction of revisionism. He said the Party must be aware of dangers and warnings but added that dangers and warnings do not form a basis for making policy. Policy must be based upon the relationship of forces and the level of the struggle. HALL said that there have been some weaknesses of the Party's handling of some questions, but even the Soviet Union has had some weaknesses in the handling of questions. KHRUSHCHEV himself admitted he was mistaken in his estimation of EISENHOWER. HALL recommended that the Party should dig into the problem and decide what they want, prepare basic articles, discuss them further, in order that the Party will emerge from the discussion as a leadership which is stronger and more permeated with the science of Marxism, and to apply this science with a greater knowledge of reality to which it applies.

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JAMES JACKSON stated that the positions put forward in the current period by the CP in the Soviet Union, based on the 20th, and especially the 21st Congress, CPSU, have been predicated upon the new world relationship of forces and new positions of strength, the primary bastion of strength being the Soviet Union. JACKSON stated that the restatement of the "fundamentals" and the "test of the fundamentals" is consistently in order, particularly in the period of successful diplomatic, economic and ideological offensive against imperialism. JACKSON stated that in the sense that the "Chinese radiate fundamentals as a kind of measuring rod, certain cautions against overzealousness flow from certain victories." He said that in his opinion, the danger is that they become "polarized" between two centers within the socialist camp. He said the suggestion is that "Peiping is the guardian of the doctrine and Moscow is the ad hoc pragmatic fighter for peace and internal progress."

JIM ALLEN stated that he did not go along with the idea that what they have here is a consolidation of (two) positions relating to basic principles. He said that the discussion taking place is within the framework of estimating and analyzing, and then coming to certain conclusions with respect to the new phase of world relations.

He said that as a matter of fact, the Chinese (articles) start from a basic position of agreement. He said the Chinese go along with the idea in which "I" think quite clearly and forcefully that what has taken place in world affairs and the world relation of force is the decided shift in favor of the forces of socialism. ALLEN commented that he was not saying that there are no differences but what he was saying was that they should not build it up, (the differences). The Chinese, because of their position, are emphasizing the anti-imperialist aspect in world policy. "I" see a position developing here in which the inclusion of China in the future Summit will become indispensable not only from the viewpoint of world policies as a whole, but also from the viewpoint of its specific relation within the socialist world.

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BEN DAVIS advised that the mere fact that the articles appeared in "Pravda," indicated that it was intended as a friendly discussion between the Soviet and Chinese Parties, and that it should not be construed to indicate a disagreement between them. DAVIS stated that the Summit collapse, plus the U-2 incident, brought to a head some long-standing differences between the Soviets and the Chinese. DAVIS advised that a world-wide tendency toward the Left has gained impetus, and that KHRUSHCHEV has attempted to check it to some degree. He emphasized that there is no disunity between the Soviet Union and China in characterizing the USA as the main imperialist danger threatening the world, and further, that there is no disunity between the Soviet Union and China on the question of peaceful coexistence. He advised that the struggle is predicated on the approaches to the realization of peaceful coexistence. DAVIS stressed that the CP, USA must avoid taking either the Soviet or Chinese side of the discussion. He advocated that the unity between the Soviet Union and China must be emphasized. DAVIS advised that the CP, USA should classify revisionism as the worst danger, without, however, ceasing to struggle against sectarianism, which still exists.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that the Chinese have tended to exaggerate the world situation and the growing decline of Capitalism. He added that in doing this, the Chinese fail to realize that two strong systems still exist in the world and must be reckoned with through negotiation. WEINSTONE related that the Marxist World Press had accomplished a good job of publicizing the viciousness of American imperialism and monopoly-capitalism. He advocated a continued struggle for peaceful coexistence as useful in winning to their side the yet uncommitted bourgeoisie forces in the world. WEINSTONE concurred in that the Party should continue to fight against sectarianism and revisionism.

HY LUMER stated that he agreed with the remarks of the others, yet felt the need of emphasizing that the Party is not dealing with a split. He advocated the handling

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of the questions before them in their totality and stressed the need of avoiding piecemeal approaches through the selection of parts of documents and/or particular aspects of one line. LUMER emphasized the need for the Party to be able to see the entire picture, stating that there is a certain world relationship of forces and there is a certain correct objective evaluation of (these forces). To illustrate his point, LUMER used the example of the treatment of the question of peaceful transition to socialism, and, with reference to same, stated that the very same comrade who could be guilty of a sectarian position at one moment, could very easily swing to the opposite extreme at another. He proffered the opinion, in reference to the present world situation, that imperialism has been compelled to do a number of things that they could not be compelled to do at an earlier stage. With reference to this statement, he used the example of what is happening in the national liberation movement in Africa. LUMER advocated the preparation of documents (to illustrate the CP position).

IRVING POTASH described GUS HALL's presentation as very important and as a correct estimate of their problems. He stated that there is no such thing as sides in this discussion and advocated the examination and evaluation of their differences. POTASH continued by stating that the CP, USA is dealing with basic differences of a nature as to effect basic policy. POTASH referred to the ("Pravda") articles and stated that they contained a great deal of material that is extremely important and valuable. He stated that the CP, USA had got to pay attention to the special position of China. He expressed the hope that the mistake made by comrades of the Soviet Union at the time of the 20th (Congress) would not be a factor in the present situation. He stated that he was troubled as to whether or not sufficient collaboration has existed with the Chinese comrades (by the Soviet Union?) on the very important recent developments. POTASH advised that the most important thing before the CP, USA is that the articles ("Pravda") do challenge basic positions of the 20th and 21st Congresses



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and of the 12 Party Declaration. He stated that there is an underestimation in the articles of the importance of divisions in the camp of the West and inside of the United States. He said that it would be correct to say that the nature of imperialism does not and will not change. POTASH stipulated that it was important to know that the concepts of the 20th and 21st Congresses and the 12 Party Declaration were, and still are, valid. He continued by stating that the line (Party) developed at the 17th Convention is still correct. POTASH related that the position developed by GUS HALL at the National Committee meeting with regard to the double-dealing of the EISENHOWER administration on the over-all question of peace, etc., was correct, even if the Soviet Union and the other parties did not give said double-dealings the same emphasis as GUS HALL placed on them at the time. He added that "we" have something to be proud of, in that "we" did give much greater emphasis to that. He stated that the CP, USA must continue to base their tactics on the struggles for peace, peaceful coexistence around the concept that these are necessary and possible, as well as on the question of anti-monopoly coalition.

MORRIS CHILDS advocated that the CP, USA should make a contribution to the discussions by analyzing the situation in our own country and analyzing the international developments. He stated that many parties (in other countries) are eagerly waiting to hear what the CP, USA will have to say concerning the over-all situation, especially since the collapse of the Summit meeting. He suggested that the contribution of the CP, USA should include both theoretical and practical problems. CHILDS stated that a possibility existed that the Chinese Party might even agree with the CP, USA. He mentioned that he was not attempting to discuss what had occurred in Tibet or the situation in the organization of India, but he was ready to stress the need for peace and peaceful coexistence. He advised that the CP, USA could make their contribution by giving an opinion of what they thought of the struggle.

NY 100-80641

ARNOLD JOHNSON urged the strengthening of solidarity with comrades of other lands and the developing of an understanding of the role of China in the world today. He advocated the strengthening of the Party's own understanding of unity in the socialist world. He cited the need for exposing the role of American imperialism and emphasized the need for the ideological and organizational strengthening of the CP, USA.

A discussion then followed concerning the advisability of transcribing the tape recording of the meeting for dissemination to District leaders.

BEN DAVIS suggested that GUS HALL's speech be transcribed and transmitted to National Committee members and that the rest of the tape be destroyed.

The meeting was adjourned with a remark by GUS HALL to the effect that he would write an article on post-Summit developments.

F B I

DATE: 7 JUL 1960

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL  
(OO:NY)

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

- 4-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
(1-100-3-83) (CPUSA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
- 1-Chicago (INFO) (RM)
- 1-Knoxville (INFO) (RM)
- 1-Memphis (INFO) (RM)
- 1-New York 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-New York 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1-New York 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1-New York 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1-New York 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1-New York 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1-New York 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-New York 100-89691 (CP, USA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (415)
- 1-New York 100-128823 (CP, USA-NYD-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (414)
- ① New York 100-95583 (CP, USA-LINE) (415)
- 1-New York 100-80640 (CP, USA-NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
- 1-New York 100-80641 (415)

HCO:ume  
(20)

100-95583-562/

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>Ag</i>	FILED <i>Ag</i>
JUL 10 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-80641

On 7/6/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that on above date, a meeting of the CP, USA-Secretariat and invited guests was held in the third floor board room at CP Headquarters, NYC.

Among those in attendance were:

GUS HALL, who acted as chairman, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, JR., HY LUMER, PHIL BART and JACK STACHEL.

Informant advised that the meeting was brief and concerned itself exclusively with the Party's proposed strategy with regard to the coming National elections.

NY 100-80641

GUS HALL opened the discussion by stating that it could be concluded from Senator LYNDON JOHNSON's statement that JOHNSON is running for vice president and not president of the US. HALL speculated that the important factor in the National Election is the independent grass roots movement that exists. JAMES JACKSON said that consideration is to be given to determine how the Party is going to inject itself into the popular features of the campaign.

JACK STACHEL said that both the Democratic and Republican Parties are parties of big business, adding that Vice President NIXON and Senator KENNEDY are representatives of big business, both politically and economically. He said the Party has a big job in order to convince comrades of the correctness of its mass line with regard to the elections. He was of the opinion that the masses could play a big role in influencing the course of the election campaign. STACHEL concluded his remarks by stating that the Party should wait until after the political conventions to present to the masses a correct analysis on what the nominees have to offer.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY commented that monopoly capitalist forces are exerting pressure in both major parties to elect candidates favorable to their interests and therefore, the Party's campaign must be conducted so as to bring forward the issues to help influence not only the character of the campaign, but also any administration which results from the campaign.

Regarding the Party's role specifically in New York State, HATHAWAY felt that it must play a basic unifying role among the Liberal Party, the democratic insurgents and the Negro movement in order to effect a unified collective approach regarding politics in New York State.

NY 100-80641

PHIL BART was of the opinion that the Party should pay greater attention to the independent movements, such as the insurgents, in order to further strengthen them. BART cautioned, however, that the Party should not "get tied up with" certain candidates and certain issues.

BEN DAVIS said that the Party's line with regard to the elections is correct. He said the Party must discuss the election campaign question not only in the light of abstract theories, but in accord with how realistically these campaigns are conducted in the United States. He said the Party, in this phase of the election campaign, should work for the nomination of ADLAI STEVENSON of the Democratic Party. Continuing, DAVIS asserted that ADAM CLAYTON POWELL had confided in DAVIS and that he (POWELL) is definitely afraid of the clerical reaction of the Catholic Church and as a result, will vote for STEVENSON, SYMINGTON, JOHNSON or anyone else in order to prevent Senator KENNEDY from winning the Democratic presidential nomination.

Informant advised that BEN DAVIS criticized the Party for not affording better support to ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in his recent political campaigns, particularly through the medium of the Party press. DAVIS expressed the opinion that the Negro people currently are not really interested in the reform movements afoot in the Democratic Party.

JAMES JACKSON, in comments regarding ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, said that POWELL is "playing the role of personal, cynical, small politics", but that POWELL feels that he can get away with this without any loss of national prestige. JACKSON offered that it was necessary for the Party to assume a more critical function, not as a negative force, but to help unfold the Party's proper role.

NY 100-80641

GUS HALL pointed out that the Party is for building independent grass roots movements wherever possible. HALL felt that it was necessary for the Party to guard against premature organizational measures.

Informant advised that the meeting concluded with BEN DAVIS referring to a situation existing in Tennessee, where DAVIS said a whole Negro community is being starved because they registered to vote. DAVIS suggested the possibility of the Party sending a telegram to the President or the Attorney General regarding this situation. Informant advised that there appeared to be general agreement regarding the above proposal by BEN DAVIS.

Meeting adjourned.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-25191) DATE: 7/22/60  
FROM : SA [redacted]  
SUBJECT: FPC  
IS - C

b6  
b7C

On June 8, 1960, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, telephonically provided SA [redacted] with oral information pertaining to the June 5, 1960 meeting of the above, at 410 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, at which GUS HALL of New York was guest.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The above information was reduced to writing by SA [redacted] and authenticated by the informant on July 7, 1960.

b6  
b7C

The original information is being maintained in Chicago file number [redacted] and is as follows:

b7D

- 2 - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 100- (GUS HALL)
  - 1 - 100- (CP-Line)
- 22 - Chicago
  - 1 - [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-2748 (SAM KISHNER)
  - 1 - 100-13263
  - 1 - 100-19085
  - 1 - 100-2749
  - 1 - 100-20289
  - 1 - 100-29423
  - 1 - 100-28609
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-15888
  - 1 - 100-26821
  - 1 - 100-33866
  - 1 - 100-27775
  - 1 - 100-17376
  - 1 - 100-14983
  - 1 - 100-12459
  - 1 - 100-26239
  - 1 - 100-14098
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-18961 (CP - International Relations)
  - 1 - 100-19491 (CP - Domestic Administration Issues)

b7D

100-95583-563

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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4 <sup>th</sup> JUL 25 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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(24)



CG 100-25191

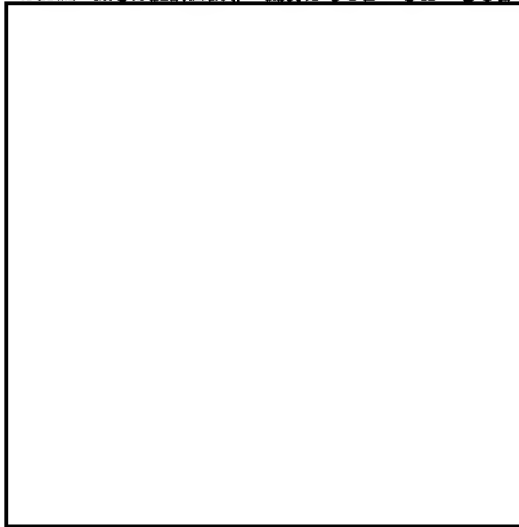
"Chicago, Illinois  
June 8, 1960

On Sunday, June 5, 1960, a meeting sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee was held at Curtis Hall, 410 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, featuring GUS HALL of New York as guest speaker.

Recognized in attendance were the following:

GUS HALL

SAM KUSHNER, Master of Ceremonies



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KUSHNER introduced GUS HALL, who read rapidly and almost inaudibly from a prepared text. For these reasons and because of poor seating arrangements in the rear of the hall, many of his remarks were not heard or fully understood.

He referred to the U-2 incident and the result and failure of the Summit Conference. It was his thesis that the U-2 incident was deliberately planned at that time to break up the Summit and to prolong the cold war since

CG 100-25191

*Kruschev*  
the ruling forces in this country did not want the cold war to end. ~~KUSHNER~~, when confronted with this situation had had little choice of action to take and really could have done nothing other than what he did. Despite the efforts of the administration to prolong and increase world tension, all should work for peace, in groups or as individuals, block to block and house to house, organizing and mobilizing peace forces to save our sons from the horrors of another war.

The present Republican Administration is the worst enemy the people have, however, things probably could be worse, as SYMINGTON, a Democratic hopeful, represents a group ready to start a war right now. On the domestic front, HALL urged the removal of all wars to racial equality, urged the abolition of the HCUA and recommended urgent moves to alleviate the unemployment problem.

It was understood that HALL had earlier spoken to a Communist party group in Chicago on the same subject matter and that his remarks here were simply a repetition of those made earlier.

MS.  
7/27/60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

DATE: JUL 18 1960

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)

FROM: SA [redacted] (422)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

b7D

Description of info 5/25 "Worker" Meeting

Date Received 5/26/60

Received by SA [redacted] (oral)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Original located [redacted]

The following information was furnished by the informant on 5/26/60, and authenticated by the informant on 6/17/60.

A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (422)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP, USA-Line) (415)
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.) (415)
- 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (415)
- 1 - 100-9369 (TED BASSETT) (415)
- 1 - 100-93665 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - 100-96627 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-89039 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-14096 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-91327 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-12959 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT) (415)
- 1 - 100-15946 (JIM TORMEY) (422)
- 1 - 100-135084 [redacted] (414)

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CWC:mxg  
(28)  
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1 - 97-169 (415)

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 97-169

COPIES:

1 - 100-280 [REDACTED] (422)  
1 - 100-109202 [REDACTED] (422)  
1 - 100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON) (414)  
1 - 100-117158 [REDACTED] (422)  
1 - 100-111095 [REDACTED] (422)  
1 - 100-- [REDACTED] (42)  
1 - 100-120054 [REDACTED] (422)  
1 - 100-67670 [REDACTED] (42)  
1 - 100-118174 [REDACTED] (415)  
1 - 100-26018 (LOU WEINSTOCK) (415);  
1 - 100-54555 (EVELYN WIENER) (424)

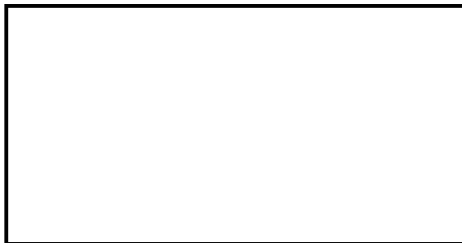
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5/26/60

On 5/25/60, there was a meeting held at Central Plaza, Second Avenue and 7th Street, NYC, sponsored by "The Worker", concerning the failure of the recent summit meeting. GUS HALL, JAMES E. JACKSON and BEN DAVIS spoke concerning the failure of the summit meeting and the U-2 incident. President EISENHOWER was attacked as being responsible for the U-2 "blunder" and the failure of the summit was said to be the responsibility of the US and not Russia. All of the speakers felt that all of the presidential candidates should be questioned on the peace question and that the peace question should be the number one political issue.

There were approximately 150 to 200 individuals present among whom were:

TED BASSETT



 PHIL BART

BETTY GANNETT

JIM TORMEY



BILL ALBERTSON



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LOU WEINSTOCK

EVELYN WIENER

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: JUL 18 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)

FROM: SA [redacted] (422)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS  
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

b7D

Description of info 5/16 Worker Reader's Conf.

Date Received 5/26/60

Received by SA [redacted] (oral)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Original located at [redacted]

The following information was furnished by the informant on 5/26/60 and authenticated by the informant on 6/17/60.

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (422)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.) (415)
- 1 - 100-26018 (LOU WEINSTOCK) (415)
- 1 - 100-96627 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-117158 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-87543 [redacted] (422)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP, USA-Line) (415)
- 1 - 97-169

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CWC:mxg  
(8)

100-95583-565

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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FBI - NEW YORK	

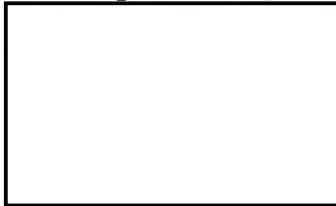
415

5/26/60

On 5/16/60, a Worker Readers Conference was held in Room 9C at Adelphi Hall, NYC. JAMES E. JACKSON, JR. made a short report on the editorial policy of "The Worker" in connection with the U-2 espionage flights over Russia. In accordance with the Party line it appears that "The Worker" will attempt to place the blame on officials of the US government for the U-2 incident and for the failure of the summit meeting.

LOU WEINSTOCK delivered a short report concerned with organizational matters and a few problems faced by "The Worker". It appears that there is nothing wrong with "The Worker" that about \$50,000 would not cure.

Among those present were:



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8/17/60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128812) (414) Date: 8/17/60  
FROM : SA [redacted] (42)  
SUBJECT: CP, NYD POLITICAL ACTIVITIES  
IS-C

b6  
b7C

- 1 - New York [redacted] (Inv.) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-79717) (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-128814) (CP, NYD, ORGANIZATION) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-128823) (CP, NYD, DOMESTIC ADM. ISSUES) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-81752) (CP, USA, COMPROS) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-128813) (CP, NYD, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-128314) (CP, NYD, FUNDS) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-50094) [redacted] (414)
- 1 - New York (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-84257) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-25623) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-93665) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-82905) [redacted] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)
- 1 - New York (100-86066) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-133660) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-68063) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-273) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-130397) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-13203) [redacted] (423)
- 1 - New York (100-89179) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-82206) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-136394) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-120215) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-82863) [redacted] (424)
- 1 - New York (101-559) (FABIAN JESUS COLON) (415)

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Copies Continued Next Page

1 - New York (100-128812) (414)  
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(59)

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NY 100-128812

Copies Continued

- 1 - New York (100- ) (TOM LNU, FROM HARLEM ATTENDED NYSCP ELECTION CONF., 7/28/60, PER [REDACTED] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-62847) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-67670) [REDACTED] (414)
- 1 - New York (100-79025) [REDACTED] (415)
- 1 - New York (100- ) (PAUL LNU, FROM INDUSTRIAL ATTENDED NYSCP ELECTION CONF., 7/28/60, PER [REDACTED] (42)
- 1 - New York (100- ) (FANNY LNU, FROM GARMENT ATTENDED NYSCP ELECTION CONF., 7/28/60, PER [REDACTED] (42)
- 1 - New York (100-98894) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-66715) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-25821) [REDACTED] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-100351) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-26776) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-64074) [REDACTED] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-56) [REDACTED] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-10113) [REDACTED] (414)
- 1 - New York (100-50842) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] lt.  
brn. hair, balding, attended NYSCP Election Conf., 7/28/60, per [REDACTED] (412)
- 1 - New York (100-70089) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100-128243) [REDACTED] (422)
- 1 - New York (100-88013) [REDACTED] (421)
- 1 - New York (100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-19786) [REDACTED] (424)
- 1 - New York (100- ) (CP, USA, LINE) (415)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHER'S NEW PRESS, INC.) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-133903) (CP, NYD. ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-81394) [REDACTED] (424)

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NY 100-128812

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished  
reliable info in past (conceal)

b7D

Description of info: NY State CP Election Conference

Date Received: 8/4/60

Received by: SA [redacted] (written)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Original located: [redacted]

A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-128812

(7/31/60)

Election Conference, NY State CP - "Progressive  
Labor Forum" - Adelphi Hall, Room 10B.  
Thursday, July 28, 1960, 6-11 p.m.

Present: Approximately 150, among them: CLARENCE HATHAWAY,  
ARNOLD JOHNSON (Chairman), [REDACTED] PAULI ROBESON,  
MARCIA LNU (Washington Heights), [REDACTED]  
JACK STACHEL, [REDACTED] EVELYN WETNER [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] BETTY GANNETT,  
[REDACTED] JESUS COLON,  
TOM LNU (from Harlem), [REDACTED] LEON LNU (Harlem),  
[REDACTED] PAUL LNU (Industrial), FANNY LNU  
(Garment), [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] BILL ALBERTSON, [REDACTED]  
LENNY LNU (Queens), OAKLEY JOHNSON, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] JIM TORMEY, [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

CLARENCE HATHAWAY: Both old parties, in their conventions, have adopted programs that are essentially a continuation of the cold war policies that have been followed by the U.S. up till now. The Democratic Party platform, as well as the Republican, resorts to a substantial amount of demagoguery as far as domestic issues are concerned. I think we can state that there were two types of pressure on both of these conventions. First, the pressure that came from Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER, undoubtedly speaking for the biggest, most powerful of the monopolist bourgeoisie in the US. When he enunciated his program a few weeks ago of more armaments, more missiles, more H-bombs, more atomic submarines, to the tune of some three billion dollars additional plus ½ billion dollars for bomb shelters, and insisted on this being incorporated in the platform, he exerted an influence and pressure as well on the Democratic Party, that found expression there, also. He indicated that he and those for whom he spoke were conscious of the fact that they could

NY 100-128812

not sell an out and out war mongering program to the American people, so, on the question of the civil rights and other issues, made substantial concessions to win the support of large sections of the people---- a program for the aged, the Negroes, labor, farmers, etc.

Also, there was a grass roots movement, as shown in the petition campaign and demonstration for STEVENSON. This expressed that what was happening in the convention did not reflect the views of the people, but the person of STEVENSON did. He did little to encourage the movement, but the people saw in him a symbol of the peace sentiments that they wanted to give expression to. This was the only means they had of giving them expression. But that was not the only pressure on the Convention. In LA. for three successive days, in growing numbers, people marched outside the Convention Hall, setting forth their demands for an end to cold war policies, the abandonment of H-bomb testing, elimination of the H-bombs now in existence, and for a peace program generally. This movement for peace was expressed with even greater strength in connection with the demands for civil rights. The 6,000 Negro people and their supporters that paraded, the 7,500 that attended a mass meeting on the civil rights issue, showed a determination by the Negro people to get a declaration from both parties for civil rights now. Hearings were held in cities across the country, setting forth demands on peace, civil rights, legislation for the aged, farm legislation, labor legislation, etc. In L.A. for a whole week before the convention opened, the platform committee held public sessions with a constant string of people representing grass roots organizations bringing their demands on the convention for action on virtually every issue confronting the people. If you read through the whole Democratic platform, you will find that on all of the issues of a domestic character, very substantial concessions were written in.

NY 100-128812

This is to place emphasis on the fact that there was not only the pressure of monopoly capitalists, but there was a tremendous activity, a growing sentiment, a tremendous pressure from the people on both of these conventions for actions such as these conventions have never given expression to before. Despite this pressure, and despite the issues written into the platform, when it came to the nomination of candidates, here the political machines were completely in control, and the candidates nominated are committed undoubtedly to the most powerful sections of monopoly capitalism, both internationally and at home.

One has to say to those Comrades who were shocked and disappointed, and to workers generally, that we never should lose sight of the fact that both parties are capitalist parties. Both are committed to big capital, and they were only fulfilling their natural role in nominating the types of candidates that they nominated. But that does not belittle the fact that they had to make other concessions that they have not made in the past. That is important not from the viewpoint of having any illusions as to the character or the role of either of these parties, but from the viewpoint of our approach to our tasks in the US.

We as Communists have no interests separate and apart from the main masses of the working people in America. Also, we are interested in doing everything we can to advance the interests of the working people of all types. Also, we are not going anywhere without the mass of the workers, the Negro people, the farmers, and all others who are subjected to the pressure of monopoly capitalism in the US. We must devise methods of bringing the people from where they are to a higher stage, step by step, to a higher level of understanding and in the direction of a new political movement, free from the two parties, that will serve their needs. We must recognize that the demogogy written into the two programs was not wasted effort on their part.

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Even though there may be lots of workers who reacted negatively to KENNEDY, JOHNSON, NIXON, or LODGE, in the course of the campaign, under the pressure of newspapers, TV, radio, etc., the tendency is going to be to draw the masses of the people, the ones that we have to reach, around the issues that they have written into their programs on the various issues.

We have to ask ourselves this. In view of the fact that we did have this pressure of the people around the two conventions, we must bear in mind that those were a continuation of the new upsurge of mass struggle here in the US. We cannot overlook that what is developing in the US is not separate from what is developing on a world scale--in Korea, Turkey, Japan, Cuba, and the Congo. All of those are having the effect of influencing the course of action here, the thinking of people here, as they are influencing the thinking and action of the people in all parts of the world. Any tendency on our part to miscalculate either of the parties would lead us into a morass that would prevent us from exercising and influence in this developing situation. Here we have to take into consideration several tendencies that have to be guarded against.

We cannot draw the conclusion that NIXON and LODGE have to be defeated at all costs, creating the implication that KENNEDY and JOHNSON are a lesser evil. In this period, we cannot formulate our position in any such manner. If we think that KENNEDY, on the basis of the program adopted at the convention, in this period could become a sort of 1960 ROOSEVELT, with another New Deal, we would be wrong. We have to avoid all speculative approaches that tend to place our policies in terms of one candidate or another. But I also think that we have to avoid the tendency of a sort of "curses on both your houses" approach. If we adopt that position, we fail to take into consideration an approach to the masses of workers, farmers, small business people, and the substantial number of the Negro people, who are, or will be, influenced by the KENNEDY-JOHNSON ticket. These

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people are in that movement. They are entrenched in that movement, and we have the problem of working where they are, of striving to influence them, of striving to bring them away from their position in the direction of a new Party movement. How can we do that? I think we have to do it on the basis of taking full advantage of exploiting to the maximum degree every single commitment, every promise made by the Democrats under the pressure of the convention. They committed themselves to a repeal of the objectionable provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, and the Langram-Griffin Law, and to the re-adoption of the essence of the Wagner Act. Within the labor movement, such issues can be used. We should remind them that gains were won on the basis of mass struggles, not as a gift from ROOSEVELT or the New Deal. Commitments were the outgrowth of the bus struggles, sit-ins and supporting national actions here, and the pressure of the uprisings of the colored people throughout the world against American imperialism. These planks will be translated into life only to the degree that an aggressive fight is made to realize these things in life.

It should be the aim of our Party to contribute as much as we can toward the development of movements to win these things in life.

If we rely on the people, on setting the people in motion around these issues, on which the workers have illusions in regard to the old parties--the way to expose those parties is to move the people to insist that every one of these commitments be translated into life. I think we can do it.

One other point: In evaluating the situation here, we should not become so blinded by the nomination of a KENNEDY and JOHNSON on one ticket and a NIXON and a LODGE on the other, as to cause us to believe that the world thereby is coming to an end and the whole progress of the people's movement and the peace struggle has been set back on its heels. I want to



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call your attention to the conference in Bucharest a couple of weeks ago, where the leaders of the Communist Parties of all the Socialist countries, with representatives of a substantial number of other parties, met and thoroughly examined the present world situation. Their conclusion was that, although imperialism remains strong and aggressive, with US imperialism the most aggressive, the world peace forces today are strong enough to prevent the outbreak of a new war. They did not make it conditional on the Democrats nomination STEVENSON or on the Republicans abandoning the policies of EISENHOWER. They based it on, first, the growing power of the socialist nations; on the growing power of the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their resistance to imperialism; on the development of the peace movement in all capitalist nations, including our own. That evaluation was not lightly arrived at. It took all the factors into consideration and placed its confidence on the ability of the peoples of the world, acting in unison and as a mass, to do things far beyond the limits of the ordinary political struggle. In that connection, don't forget that a [redacted] was kicked out in Korea; a [redacted] was kicked out in Japan [redacted] in Turkey---by the action of the masses of the people. If we think of this election as settling everything, if we think we are doomed to the policies of KENNEDY or NIXON for the next four years, we will be failing to take into consideration the new forces and possibilities there are in the world. Our whole approach to candidates and platforms should be, not from the viewpoint of looking for a lesser evil, or "curses on both your Houses", but how we can reach down among the people, utilizing the issues they are interested in and the promises that have been made to them, as a means of setting them in motion against things as they are and for the objectives of the people's movement.

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Some Comrades think that we should advise the workers and the people in general not to vote, to boycott the elections. Any such policy as that would be entirely negative. It would not be understood by the workers,, and it is an entirely passive policy that does not see the possibilities of utilizing the present trends to stir up the masses of the people.

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There are others who say, now that the choice is between KENNEDY and NIXON there is nothing else to do than to vote for the [redacted] or the Socialist Labor Party. That would be a vote wasted as completely as a vote for NIXON or KENNEDY. We have to be on guard against all such tendencies as that.

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Then there is the viewpoint that, although there is nothing we can do in this election, we must now carry on a genuine agitation for a labor party. You are not going to get a labor party by the simple process of agitation. If that were true, we should have had one many years ago. Such a new party will not come from doing nothing now. We must work among the people, influence them on issues, bring them into struggle, and out of their disillusionment with the old parties will come the movement in the direction of a new party.

A group in NY--the Committee of 200--has initiated a movement for the desegregation of the schools. They propose that, with the opening of school in September, the parents keep their children out of school, in organized sit-outs, to force the issue of desegregation in NY. They put out lengthy, valuable material on the present state of the school system, showing that no advance has been made in desegregation, but rather, that more segregation exists than before. They propose an action that in this field can be of even greater proportions than were the sit-ins or bus strikes in the south. It can be a tremendous movement here in NY. Sponsors are ministers, labor leaders, PTA leaders---a very broad representative group. There is every reason to believe that it will reach very broad proportions. This is a concrete basis for action. The Democrats pledged themselves to desegregation of schools. We have a Democratic administration in NY. The opening of the schools would be a good time to demonstrate whether we want to put the platform into effect. It is the duty of every club and every comrade to take this up seriously, to establish working contacts with the workshops that are preparing new actions.

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Especially the white comrades have a special job to do. So long as the Negro and PR children in NYC are in segregated schools, the whole school system will be held down, all children will be injured. This is one of the struggles that can be taken up immediately in connection with the election campaign.

Some have said, whom shall our Party members vote for, and whom she we tell the wrokers to vote for? I do not think this has to be of concern to us as a Party. We are under no compulsion to choose between a NIXON and a KENNEDY. We are under compulsion to find ways and means to continue and strengthen our contacts with workers in the trade unions in every phase of the mass movement.

Comrades will have problems in every area where they work---the insurgent clubs, Negro groups, etc. They must realize that in this period, in this situation, with these tasks before them they can be members of a club or union, working within the same limitations as other non-Communist members of the club. Our people have to raise the issues of peace, civil rights, etc. We must work to raise the level of understanding and try to draw people into struggle.

On the peace question: I think we have to avoid any tendency to narrow down the peace movement. We have to continue to work with all the peace forces in Sane and in like organizations, to give them the broadest possible mass base and, as indicated by ARNOLD, to help to make such actions as those around Hiroshima Day, as broad as possible.

Finally, on our own role in this: The NC and the State Committee have decided on a policy of putting forth in this campaign our own candidates in a munber of places and, where possible, to support independent peace candidates, labor candidates, or Negro candidates committed to the question of civil rights.

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The District Committee and the District Board have pursued that policy and are striving to complete the arrangements for running a Congressional candidate in Manhattan, one in Brooklyn, and possibly one or two Assembly District candidates. At least one will be run as a Party candidate. Another will probably have the support of broad peace movements. The A.D. candidates will probably be Party candidates. We had hoped to have already tonight, not only candidates to announce, but also the districts in which they would run. But we have encountered many problems in connection, not with the election of candidates in the Party name (we have any number who would like to go to Congress, or who would be willing to be President). The problems are as to the best district in which to run them. We have the 20th District---an insurgent candidate won in the primaries, and will receive the progressive vote as a whole there. In the 18th C.D., there were several insurgent candidates that won, creating a million problems for us. In the 17th CD, including silk stocking areas, none of them have come forward to volunteer as our candidate. We even question whether they will sign our petitions. So this area was ruled out by its class composition. In the 19th CD (Lower East Side and the point of Manhattan), [redacted] has announced his intention to run, with a platform and declaration of principles worthy of support by the progressive forces, so we would not want to run against him. We are now concentrating on the 21st CD---possibly the 13th AD---but we want to carry on some discussions and to make sure we do not tread on some toes with whom we want to cooperate in that district.

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These problems are not questions of resistance on any part of the leadership to the putting forward of such candidates. We will find a place, and such candidates will be on the ballot. We hope to announce them within the next couple of days.

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In Brooklyn, we are also looking for a place and candidate. Because we are working with other people besides ourselves, we are not in a position to name the candidate tonight, but we will have candidates.

Two final points: (1) On the Worker: Prior to the meeting, ARNOLD passed out a number of \$1.00 subscription cards. We propose as part of our election activity, wherever it may be, to push these subscriptions, trying to get a minimum of 500 in the NYC area. I think we can do better. (2) The financing of the Campaign: We had a financial drive on for the Party and the Worker. It is now proposed that, in its present form, as a combined Worker-Party drive, that it be considered ended, but, in connection with the election campaign, a new impetus and broader appeal be developed to raise the additional necessary funds to complete the campaign. The funds are necessary, not only to complete our present obligations to the Worker (\$5,000), but they are also necessary for Party defense---the Mc Carran and Smith Act cases are coming up at the opening of the court. Moneys is required for defense and will be a drain on Party forces. Finally, if we are going to get out the platform and other materials in large quantities, and have open-air meetings, etc., funds must be brought in for the election campaign. We are urging that, to meet these obligations, approximately \$35,000 be raised, and quickly, by October 15. The Worker will independently launch a drive to complete its quota of \$15,000 between October 15 and the end of the year.

I believe we are entering into a period that will be marked by greater opportunities for our Party, by greater activities on the part of large numbers of workers, the Negro people, farmers, and all sections of the toiling population in America. The activities that were developed around the conventions is but a warning of the bigger struggles in process of development. The struggles on a world scale will be a further stimulant to the peace movement here and to every phase of the activities and struggles of the American people.

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In this area, we will have an opportunity to broaden our influence among the workers, to enlarge our Party membership, to play a more leading role, coming closer to being a true vanguard among large sections of the workers, and we will be able to contribute to the development of bigger, stronger, more progressive people's movement in America.

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This was followed by a collection by ARNOLD JOHNSON (approximately \$100.00), and a brief intermission.

It was voted to limit discussion to five minutes, with only [redacted] voting for more time. It was also voted to allow EVELYN WEINER eight extra minutes for a discussion of integration in the NY schools.

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ARNOLD JOHNSON: Comrade HENRY WINSTON is now in a hospital in Staten Island, since he was moved from Montefiore Hospital. He has recovered the use of his leg and can walk, but he is blind. He is learning Braille and typing, but he has very limited ability to identify a person---only through hearing. He can see only a shadow. This is the result of the brutality in prison. The responsibility rests with the prison authorities.

As to the status of his case: There is a review of his case by the Parole Board, which took place today. There were demands for immediate medical parole, with full medical reports. They have the power, however, to send him back to Springfield Prison. Without an actual release, there is always the danger that he will be sent back.

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There was a story in the Times saying that NORMAN THOMAS sent a telegram to EISENHOWER to ask for his immediate release. The Times said he was in Springfield. This is wrong.

After the Parole Board, the President will review for possible clemency. We should send letters to the President, urging executive clemency.

[redacted] What provision has been made to mobilize the Party as soon as the candidate is announced?

HATHAWAY: The candidate has been chosen. ARNOLD JOHNSON is going to run. Petitions are being prepared, etc. We are discussing the possibility of running MILLIE in the 13th District.

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[redacted] I think we should call upon people to vote for Congressional candidates and not to vote for President and Vice President. This will register the peace vote.

PAULI ROBESON: I disagree completely with the outlook of Comrade HATHAWAY. It is full of impossible contradictions. I agree with CHARLIE. I am also opposed to running Communist candidates in the context that has been proposed here. It is wrong to substitute a Communist Party for an all-out broad, progressive candidate. Candidates must have roots in the district in which they run. This is why BEN doesn't want to run. Every club in our Region thinks we should not run a candidate. I think we should re-examine the whole thing, and settle for opposing the two-party system. I suggest the following: (1) Have a campaign to expose the 2-party system. (2) No vote for the presidency; (3) We should not run Communist candidates at this time.

There was general discussion, pro and con.

EVELYN WEINER: I want to voice general criticism of the report, but while I agree with most of what PAULI said, I disagree on his last point. I think we should run candidates.

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On the Integration question: There is planned a sit-out strike in September. This struggle will give more meaning to our election campaign. I think there will be a winning struggle and we will integrate the schools in NYC. Segregation has been growing here. Read the fact sheet gotten out by the Committee. Before, there were 9 segregated schools; now, 38. If new legislation goes through, there will be 47. There is complete defiance of the Supreme Court decision. The movement is spreading by leaps and bounds. There is a very broad sponsoring committee, but only two legislators: [redacted] the candidate for the Assembly. We should ask every candidate in the City to come out on record in support of the organization. It is the Committee of 200. We must convince the white people that they must support this movement.

JIM TORMEY: I want to support the report. We must remember that, while ROOSEVELT made up slogans, it was the people who forced him to implement them. This what we must do with KENNEDY.

[redacted] supported the report.

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BILL ALBERTSON: There will be a 1961 municipal election. If we urge a boycott of the elections now, we will be unable to influence those elections. Wherever we decide to run a candidate, we must all work. We should begin now to canvass our members and our neighborhoods, and prepare to get ready for canvassing on August 6.

Motion: To adopt the report:

[redacted] proposed to drop it now and reconvene a week from tonight, so that the discussion could be carried on. This was brushed aside.

Motion: To authorize the State Committee to place in nomination such candidates as it may see fit. Carried (PAUL ROBESON against).



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Motion: To assign Comrades, as of now, to work in the campaign.  
Carried.

Motion: To establish the \$35,000 Fund Drive, as outlined by  
HATHAWAY. Carried.

Motion: Establish drive for 500 \$1.00 subs to the Worker  
by 9/15. (Note: HATHAWAY originally said October 15, but  
motion was worded, September 15). Carried.

Motion: Accept the general line of the report, as it will be  
amplified by further discussions. Carried. ROBESON voted no,  
with a few others, and several abstentions.

FBI

Date: 9/15/60

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Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL  
(OO: New York)

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9-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
    (1-100-3-81) (CP, USA - International Relations)  
    (1-100-3-88) (CP, USA - Factionalism)  
    (1-100-3-104) (CP, USA - Counterintelligence Program)  
    (1-100- ) (CP, USA - Line)  
    (1-100-3-76) (CP, USA - Youth Matters)  
    (1-100-3-75) (CP, USA - Negro Question)  
2-Boston (Info) (RM)  
    (1-100- 775 ) (HOMER BATES CHASE)  
2-Chicago (Info) (RM)  
    (1-61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
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*J. WATERS*

NY 100-80541

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1-New York (100-80644) (CPUSA - Youth Matters) (415)  
1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)  
1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1-New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)  
1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (415)  
1-New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
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1-New York (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)  
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1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)  
1-New York (100-128255) ( ) (415)  
1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)  
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1-New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (414)  
1-New York (100-118174) ( ) (414)  
1-New York (100- ) (American Committee on African Affairs) (41)  
1-New York (100- ) (Caribbean Committee) (41)  
1-New York (100-128821) (CPUSA, NYD - Factionalism) (414)  
1-New York (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, Jr.) (424)  
1-New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (422)  
1-New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (414)  
1-New York (64-56) (CP - Cuba) (415)  
1-New York (100-139834) (ANLC) (41)  
1-New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)  
1-New York (100-132430) (CPUSA - Industrial Division) (42)  
1-New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)  
1-New York (100-50094) ( ) (414)  
1-New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)

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On 9/14/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that there was a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat and invited guests held in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date. Among those in attendance were:

GUS HALL  
JACK STACHEL  
HY LUMER  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
PHIL BART  
IRVING POTASH  
CLARENCE HATHAWAY  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
BEN DAVIS

WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

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HY LUMER pointed out that work is well under way for the welcoming of KHRUSHCHEV and other heads of government to the United Nations General Assembly. He noted that a folder is being issued by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship.

WILLIAM PATTERSON said that the American Committee on African Affairs, together with the Caribbean Committee, have extended invitations to other delegations to attend a reception to be held on the 24th or 25th of September in Harlem's largest auditorium on 155th Street. (The name of the auditorium was not mentioned but the reference was apparently to the Rockland Palace Ballroom, 280 West 155th Street, New York City.) PATTERSON said that there would be a charge of \$5.00 and hors D'oeuvres are being served. According to PATTERSON, the question has been raised as to whether the Government will object on the basis of security. He said that if such an objection is raised, the speaking point will be used that men who are dealing with international questions in which the Negro is deeply interested and involved, are being shunted away from the centers of Negro population in the country and are not allowed to discuss these matters.

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(The foregoing was furnished to the Bureau by teletype dated 9/14/60, captioned, "CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IS - C.")

ARNOLD JOHNSON then spoke in answer to charges of factionalism against him. He said that he understood that the New York State leadership was composed of three people, namely, WILLIAM PATTERSON, CLARENCE HATHAWAY and himself. He commented that, however, at a later date, HATHAWAY changed this and made all staff members equal. According to JOHNSON, this resulted in a disorganized situation in the leadership. He said that as Vice-Chairman he was unable to even learn the status of the New York State Party organization and on such matters as dictating a letter or obtaining a postage stamp, he had to get permission from (WILLIAM) ALBERTSON.

JOHNSON then pointed out that the building of "our Party" has to involve the establishing of an independent role and "we would do better if we figure out how to get people into our Party." JOHNSON then commented that HATHAWAY's report was a very unfortunate approach to the question of leadership as it did not give the whole picture. JOHNSON pointed out that he did not disagree with GUS (HALL) on unity for the Party. He noted that he himself has always worked for unity. JOHNSON claimed that there is a need for "shirt-sleeve discussion" and stated that frankness is not factionalism. In conclusion, JOHNSON said that there is a need for "something to really create a challenge in the Party."

JACK STACHEL said that first and foremost there has to be full agreement on line, including its application, between the New York State and National leadership. According to STACHEL, JOHNSON has not adjusted himself to this question. You cannot have a CP when you have confusion of line and confusion in leadership. STACHEL continued, "I do not care what you call it but you do not have a united Party in New York." The first thing that must be settled

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is that the National leadership has to guarantee to bring together the New York leadership with a national policy. STACHEL said that JOHNSON is an older comrade with considerable experience who should fight for the Party's line. Further, that JOHNSON, although part of the National leadership, does not act like a national leader. STACHEL remarked that "JOHNSON's statement (today) lacked both a basic approach and a basic line."

With reference to the New York leadership, STACHEL stated that there are comrades who have to realize that they have been on the wrong track and "comrade JOHNSON has a lot to think over."

HY LUMER claimed that although the Party came out of the National Convention with a united line, this did not mean that everyone supported this line. He noted that there were differences and that since the 17th Convention, there has been a group which opposes the policies of the Convention. According to LUMER, it is no great secret that such differences exist, for [redacted] has said that there are political differences that must be resolved.

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LUMER stated that he felt that there was a factional operation in the New York District and he did not consider BILL (ALBERTSON) to be the source of that operation. He continued that the Party has reached the point where unity must be the paramount consideration. Concerning (ARNOLD) JOHNSON's record, LUMER stated that his past record was good but anyone seeing his present activities would not recognize him.

With respect to the resolution on peace, LUMER stated that it was a reaffirmation of the basic Party position and noted that JOHNSON failed to fight for it when it was challenged. LUMER described this failure on JOHNSON's part as "playing around with factionalism." LUMER

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stated that certain people were guilty of "distorting" and [redacted] was one of these. LUMER said that the situation must be dealt with by having a full discussion with the New York leadership on all of these questions.

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IRVING POTASH stated that this situation must be resolved on the basis of fighting for the Party line and of everyone pulling together with the leadership for the growth and morale of the Party, and to fulfill the task of the Party. He said that differences of tactics and interpretation should be discussed but once a decision is made by the Party, everyone must work along that line.

GUS HALL expressed concern over the possibility of the Trotskyites making in-roads in the Party and stated that the leadership must "do a political job on Trotskyism as a whole."

WILLIAM WEINSTONE, in discussing the New York factional situation, said that he thought "we must use the dialectical approach, that truth is concrete." He said that they must not underestimate the effect of a steady flow of propaganda from the Right or Left. WEINSTONE indicated that he considered [redacted] the political leader of the "leftist tendency" in the New York District. He also observed that PAULY (ROBESON, JR.) has strong Negro Nationalist tendencies which must be dealt with. WEINSTONE characterized [redacted] as being irresponsible. He called for more Party discipline and militancy and stated that this situation must be dealt with on the basis of "line" by having a sharp "ideological; political and if necessary, organizational struggle."

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PHIL BART said that the Party cannot develop youth forces who are infected with cynicism. He described cynicism as the mark of factionalism. According to BART, under the current Party leadership, comrades are "shopping for ideas" from various leaders in the Party. He said that under a united leadership such "shopping" would not be possible. BART noted that he did not consider that Party unity necessarily means complete unanimity on every question.

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He said that the question in the Party is not whether the NEC decision was a correct one but rather was the NEC method a correct one.

[redacted] stated that youth are greatly affected by factionalism and the New York District cannot move ahead on youth work until factionalism in New York is ended. [redacted] commented that without success in New York, it would be very difficult to establish any national youth movement.

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BEN DAVIS stated that it was his opinion that the CP is "essentially healthy in New York," even though the division and factionalism of Party leadership in New York has had its effects. DAVIS indicated that he felt inadequately prepared on some questions and therefore would like additional information from various quarters in the Party on three points:

- 1) The Party's mass line and work.
- 2) The internal situation in the Party.
- 3) Leadership and organization.

DAVIS stated that the Party must go deeper than personalities to end factionalism and the State Board and State Committee must take a position on this.

According to DAVIS, the question must be considered on its political basis, that is, why it is important to change Party organization to improve it. He said that changes being made should not be presented as having been made simply because of lack of funds. DAVIS said that to bring an end to factionalism, the Party must "bust it up." In line with this, he said that he favors getting rid of WILLIAM ALBERTSON, JIM (TORMEY), and BETTY (GANNETT). DAVIS characterized ALBERTSON as "factional through and through" to such an extent as to be unbearable.

In conclusion, DAVIS commented that at the coming State Committee meeting, the Party leadership should simply lay down the law that factional behaviour will not be tolerated.



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GUS HALL spoke and made reference to the procuring for the Party a copy of the document dealing with the vanguard role played by the CP in Cuba. He said that the document discussed among other things why the CP did not join FIDEL CASTRO at the outset of his revolution. He said the document discusses specifically the vanguard work performed by the CP among trade unions and farmers in Cuba. The informant was unable to determine the title of the document referred to by HALL.

WILLIAM PATTERSON, commenting on his trip, said that it was a wonderful opportunity to travel abroad, especially to travel in the Socialist world. He remarked that unity of the Party must be fought for and the fight begins at the top. PATTERSON accused the Party leadership of "failing to take advantage" of certain questions produced by the 17th National Convention. He said that certain organizational steps taken at the Convention projected the situation in which the Party finds itself.

PATTERSON felt that an "organizational struggle for position" took place at the 17th Convention and that there were comrades who left the Convention completely dissatisfied with certain organizational discrepancies. PATTERSON described PAUL ROBESON, JR. as an extremely able comrade but said his attitude toward Party leadership has been alarming for some time. He recommended that comrades should be assigned to discuss ROBESON's attitude with him as regards Party leadership.

Continuing, PATTERSON commented that the relationship of the New York leadership to the national leadership can affect the unity of the entire Party. He said the New York District has an important role to play with regard to Negro national organizations and in contacting Negro leaders. He said the Party must give ideological leadership that can be utilized by the Negro forces.

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With regard to the American Negro Labor Council (ANLC), PATTERSON stated a number of lessons were learned in Detroit. He said the Party must think of the ANLC as a mass organization not only in terms of Negro trade unions but also as a force in the labor movement as a whole.

In concluding, PATTERSON commented that something drastic has to be done as regards the New York State leadership situation. He said bringing this to the attention of the Party will help the whole ideological struggle and will unify the Party.

IRVING POTASH stated that agreement should be reached in the Party as to the role WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is to play. POTASH stated that FOSTER can advance ideas, submit documents and statements without having them become the basis for internal struggle in the Party. He said that the allowing of the ideas advanced by Comrade FOSTER to cause internal struggle in the Party is abusing the role which FOSTER has played and can continue to play in the Party.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that a receivership for the New York District must be appointed by the Secretariat in order that the leadership of the New York District can be reorganized. GUS HALL commented that the challenge of the Party leadership comes from an "infantile bookishness" which cannot even be considered part of the left. HALL said there is a vicious sniping campaign constantly taking place and we have reached the point where the standards of the Party must be raised, including the standards of unity.

"I" will not give support for any office in this Party to comrades who hold negative and disruptive influences which hold back the work of the Party. HALL said this must be a basic criteria for leadership. He said the Party has not maintained Communist standards of putting a leadership together and has not had a Leninist approach to unity.

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HALL said the leaders in the Industrial Division of the Party are the ones who gripe and speak openly against the leadership of the Party. He said that he had visited [redacted] recently and they had nothing in which they disagreed upon. HALL said that because of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's advanced age the comrades should not involve him in problems concerning the New York leadership.

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HALL described BETTY (GANNETT?) as having displayed a deep-seated subjectivity which he said is continuous and flares up with regard to political questions. JIM (TORMEY?) does not agree with the 20th and 21st Congresses (CPSU) and "I" do not know what kind of a role he can play unless he develops a deeper understanding of these Congresses. HALL said "we" have put CLARENCE HATHAWAY in a difficult position because he does not have a team to work with; HALL said that in his opinion the elected leadership of PATTERSON (WILLIAM L.), JOHNSON (ARNOLD) AND HATHAWAY (CLARENCE) could have made "a hell of a team, a powerful one." He said, however, that it is the responsibility of leadership to put an end to the slanderous and vicious attacks that have gone on against the Party. Otherwise, "we will have to look elsewhere for leadership." In concluding HALL stated that the Party must be placed above everything else.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY stated that he does not put [redacted] EVIE (EVELYN WIENER) and [redacted] in the same category with ARNOLD (JOHNSON). HATHAWAY criticized ARNOLD (JOHNSON) for appeasing the above three-named individuals.

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HATHAWAY proposed that following this meeting a committee be set up to include himself, (ARNOLD) JOHNSON and some members of the Secretariat to discuss how best to proceed with this question of leadership. He said that [redacted] WIENER and [redacted] follow the line of "ingrained cynicism" regarding all questions that come up concerning leadership. He said this is the sort of thing that must be erased.

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HATHAWAY commented that (ARNOLD) JOHNSON has to decide whether he is going to be a part of leadership which upholds the Party line and does not apologize for it.

ARNOLD JOHNSON said that he is bothered because in the struggle for unity and the application of the Party line, the line takes its meaning as it is applied, which, he said, is a mass application. He said that the comrades most under attack are those comrades who spend most of their time in the application of the Party line.

Informant advised that a committee was then formed consisting of ARNOLD JOHNSON, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, GUS HALL, HY LUMER and WILL WEINSTONE to discuss the question of leadership and to bring in a proposal to a future meeting of the Secretariat. Informant noted that no date was specified.

GUS HALL then stated that the Secretariat has to decide something with regard to the New England situation. HALL proposed that if there was no acceptance of the line of the National Committee by HOMER BATES CHASE, then his resignation should be accepted and the State Committee (New England) be asked to elect a new leadership.

WILL WEINSTONE commented that if there was any factionalism in the Party, it was in Massachusetts. He proposed that a delegation of three from the National Committee be sent to Boston and to visit each club in order to win over the comrades one by one. The informant advised that most of the people present disagreed with the delegation proposal to Boston but recommended that HY LUMER go to New England this weekend regarding the situation.

GUS HALL stated that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was in town primarily for discussion involving JIM JACKSON. He said that JACKSON is vacationing this week in order to take his daughter to college and that the discussions involving LIGHTFOOT would be held on Tuesday, at 10:00 a.m., on 9/20/60.

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Continuing, informant advised that a discussion concerning the next date for the NEC, CPUSA, was had and it was decided the NEC meeting would be held on 9/28 and 29/60.

PHIL BART suggested the agenda for that meeting will be as follows:

1. Developments in the UN Assembly;
2. Youth;
3. Organizational recommendations;
4. Elections.

The information referred to above concerning LUMER's pending trip to the Boston District has been set out by separate communication to Boston.

Rec'd m 9/29  
9/26

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC [redacted]  
FROM: SA DONALD L. MILLER  
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: September 19, 1960

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted]	9/2/60	9/13/60	DONALD L. MILLER (Written)	[redacted]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

- 4 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)  
CP. EDUCATION  
[redacted]
- 3 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)  
CP. EDUCATION  
[redacted]
- 2 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)  
CP. EDUCATION  
[redacted]
- 2 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)  
[redacted]  
CP, EDUCATION
- 9 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)  
CP. EDUCATION  
100-80633  
100-135736  
100-120546  
100-120054  
[redacted]
- 100-132101  
100-9595  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
CP LINE  
CP YOUTH
- 100-80644
- 3 - Baltimore  
[redacted]  
100-12244 CP. EDUCATION  
100-18684 [redacted]

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DLM:dfm  
(23) *dfm*

100-95583-568  
SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]  
SERIALIZED [initials]  
45 SEP 22 1960  
FBI - NEW YORK  
J. WATERS [initials]

P

"New York, N. Y. Sept. 8, 1960

"At 7:15 p.m. Friday, September 2, 1960, the Communist Party leadership training school resumed its session at the Estonian Hall, 2061 E. Lexington Ave. (near 125th St.). The entire class [redacted] from Philadelphia; [redacted] from Chicago; [redacted] from New York; [redacted] of Detroit; [redacted] of Baltimore, and [redacted] of Cleveland) were present and WILL WEINSTONE, the instructor asked for criticism and comments on the school, its subjects, methods of teaching and instructors. The criticisms included complaints of sitting too long and a preference for a rural location for the school. WILL said that he would ask for evaluations again because the group wasn't critical enough.

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"The class was then permitted to decide on whether they wanted to go to Jones Beach, Rockaway Beach, or sightseeing around Manhattan by boat on Sunday afternoon (9/4/60). The group chose Rockaway Beach because it offered amusements. [redacted] was selected as the leader of the group and collectivity was stressed as the important phase of the planned day.

"The next order of business was the revision of the schedule. Saturday's session (9/3/60) was cut by one-half hour in order to prevent those who were going to work as canvassers to leave early. Out of towners were cautioned to remain as silent as possible and not give their last names or where they came from. Sunday's session was shortened by switching the discussion of 'Ideals and Conduct of Party People' to one hour of the time allotted for the Youth Work Seminar (9/9/60, 1-6 p.m. or 9/10/60, 9-12 noon). This gave the class all of Sunday afternoon and Monday until 1:00 p.m. free.

"After a brief break, WILL began the lecture on 'Conduct and Ideals of Party People'. He broke the subject up into three divisions:

- "I. Aim In Life
- II. Difficulties encountered in Fulfilling that Aim
- III. Critical Personal Matters (Jobs, marriage and personal problems)

"The highest ideal was said to be socialism. The reasons for this high ideal or aim and the means by which it is obtained

[REDACTED]

(study and struggle) were explained with illustrations. Do's and don'ts were given to help in avoiding difficulties encountered, and the need to approach things dialectically was explained. Self-discipline and its importance was stressed. The need to acquire a skill (or skills) and to engage in intellectual activity was emphasized because of acute pressure on the party. Morality in relations between men and women was dwelled upon with the need of party people to be married and striving for a love relation being heavily labored upon. Good health was cited as being a must with a ceasing of the vices of drinking, smoking and bad health habits. Mental illness was divided into two groups and advice was given to stay away from psychiatry (and psychiatrists) if possible, especially psychoanalysis. Party members were recommended as being the best psychiatrists going. In closing WILL read excerpts from a pamphlet 'On the Woman Question' which denounced free love and the sowing of wild oats by young men as being the cause of a bad end. It was 10:00 p.m. when the class was dismissed."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.



F B I

Date: 9/22/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL  
(OO: NY)

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

- 10-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
  - (1-100-55685) ("Political Affairs")
  - (1-100-354634) ("Mainstream")
  - (1-100-3-81) (CPUSA - International Relations)
  - (1-100-3-88) (CPUSA - Factionalism)
  - (1-100-3-86) (CPUSA - Pamphlets and Publications)
  - (1-100-123974) (HERBERT APTHEKER)
  - (1-100- ) (CPUSA - Line)
- 3-Chicago (Info) (RM)
  - (1-100- )
  - (1-100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- 1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (414)
- 1-New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1-New York (100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)
- 1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)
- 1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)

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1-New York (100-80641)

HCO:rmv

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100-95583-869

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 22 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	
WATERS	

NY 100-80641

On 9/21/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that there was a meeting of leading CP functionaries held this date at CP headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were: GUS HALL, HERB APTHEKER, IRVING POTASH, HY LUMER, WILLIAM WEINSTONE, JACK STACHEL, BEN DAVIS, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, JAMES ALLEN, JAMES JACKSON, [REDACTED] MORRIS CHILDS and PHIL BART.

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COPIES CONTINUED

1-New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, Jr.) (415)  
1-New York (100-128255) [REDACTED] (415)  
1-New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1-New York (100-97167) ("Political Affairs") (415)  
1-New York (100-89571) ("Mainstream") (415)  
1-New York (100-86624) (CPUSA - International Relations) (415)  
1-New York (100-87211) (CPUSA - Factionalism) (415)  
1-New York (100-81675) (CPUSA - Pamphlets and Publications) (415)  
① 1-New York (100-95583) (CPUSA - Line) (415)  
1-New York (100-94653) (VICTOR PERLOW) (33)  
1-New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)

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HERBERT APTHEKER opened the meeting and presented a report on "Political Affairs." He said "Political Affairs" is the official organ of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and should serve as a guide to Party membership on the line of the Party. Through "Political Affairs" the views of the Party are expressed to the Negro people and the working class in the U.S. It should deal with the major political developments and struggle. It should bring to the membership a clear understanding of socialism in theory and practice, and the developing societies in peoples democracies in Europe and Asia, and an understanding of the decline of capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism.

APTHEKER said the magazine must reflect its communist partisanship and combat rigidity and should encourage political controversy. "Political Affairs" has dealt with major domestic and world-wide developments throughout all the crises in the Party during which it held firm to a Marxist-Leninist approach and fundamental communist outlook and even though its circulation fell, it did better than any other organ of the Party. Circulation figures are as follows: yearly average--1950, 15,000; 1954, 11,000; 1956, 9,800; 1957, 6,400; 1958, 5700; 1959, 5800; 1960, 6,011 (for the first nine months of 1960). In certain broad areas such as universities, its circulation has increased in spite of the general decline in circulation over the past ten years. "Political Affairs" is reprinted widely abroad, and in Canada.

On a theoretical level, it is not geared closely enough to the Party and does not serve sufficiently as a guide to organizing the Party; it does not pay enough attention to controversy and discussion; it does not reflect sufficiently the actual struggles taking place in the country; and has been poor in its coverage of labor and trade union work. "Political Affairs" has been weak in its coverage of Latin American affairs but there has been an

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improvement in this field.

APTHEKER remarked that complaints have been made that the articles are too long, the language is difficult and repetitious, and the following proposals have been made:

1. A functioning editorial board should be established with 6 or 7 members consisting of the following personnel:

HERB APTHEKER, Editor  
HY LUMER, Associate Editor  
JIM ALLEN, BEN DAVIS, IRVING POTASH,  
JACK STACHEL and one other member of the  
editorial board.

The idea is to meet once or twice a month, get contributions of material, plan future issues, settle questions, and deal with manuscripts.

2. There is a critical need that the responsibility for national leadership of the Party writing for the magazine be fixed, and the whole matter be treated as a Party assignment.

3. Closer integration of the Party and the magazine is needed, as well as closer cooperation between the Editor and the national leadership. The Party should use the magazine as such in its work and propaganda.

4. The CP line must be developed more fully in specific and general areas.

5. Provision must be made for bringing out discussion and controversy with a rounded-out presentation of the controversy appearing in the magazine on a systematic basis.

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6. There should be closer integration with the Districts, encouraging them to contribute with regularity to the magazine to overcome the weakness in mass action and struggle.

7. A trade union committee should be formed to guarantee coverage of trade union problems.

8. "Notes of the Month" should be done collectively by the editorial board.

9. "Ideas of Our Times" should be continued but concentrate more on major books and articles on ideological and theoretical questions, not to exceed 10 pages, with the national leadership also contributing.

10. A striving for brevity and simplicity.

11. A stronger book review section is needed.

12. Some archival sections are needed--four or five editions a year where more significant documents of the Party are issued.

13. A very strong effort should be made to get the magazine out regularly on the first of the month.

14. Some technical assistance should be provided for the editor--all the typing has to be done by the editor himself. We published a questionnaire on "Political Affairs" and LUMER has some of the reports.

HY LUMER stated "we" received 60 questionnaires from individuals. They do not present a representative picture of the whole Party because they represent only those individuals who wrote in individually and they represent a segment of the readers but not a cross section of the Party. A large part of the membership is not represented which is

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most critical of the magazine on grounds of length and incomprehensibility of articles. The questionnaire represented the more educated and sophisticated reader. The largest single age group of readers is 41 to 50 years of age; those who have not reached their 41st birthday, 18; over 50 years of age, 29; age 61-70, 11; 71 or over, 11.

He said one-third of the answers were from people over 60 years of age. As to occupations, the largest single group are retired; shop workers, construction, white collar, housewives, students. Out of 60 replies, half of them said they had read the magazine from its inception. Some say they have been readers since they became communists--about one-third are in this category; four have read for less than one year; nine have read from one to five years. The major criticism of the magazine was the length of articles. The readers indicated a desire to see more material from the rank and file membership. Some would like to see more theoretical articles appear.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated the main function of the magazine is to fight for the line of the Party against all deviationists and mobilize the membership for the struggle, guide them, and give them understanding. The magazine has not fought against opportunism, the right and left. Without such a struggle we cannot mobilize the Party.

WEINSTONE said the Party is not using HERBERT APTHEKER to the best advantage. He described APTHEKER as a man of tremendous ability, a public figure by his writings and speeches. He is a publicist, historian, and gets around widely. "We" should use him for the public figure that he is, and "I" do not think it can be done through "Political Affairs." He said APTHEKER should take over "Mainstream", which is an organ around which the widest strata of intellectuals can be organized.

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WEINSTONE, in concluding, said with regard to the composition of the editorial board, it should not be composed of three members from the Secretariat because they have too much work and would cause it to be a non-functioning board. He said the board should be composed mostly of members who are writers and workers for the magazine.

WILLIAM PATTERSON commented that there is a great deal of respect abroad for the editor of the magazine and that the magazine, in his opinion, is read with extreme care everywhere. PATTERSON favored a plan to send out a more concrete central questionnaire to the District leadership with orders to make it compulsory as a matter of "discipline" to answer all the questions on "Political Affairs."

IRVING POTASH remarked that not only are many comrades not reading this magazine, but they are not reading at all. POTASH called upon the Party to initiate a campaign through club meetings whereby club chairmen would instill a greater interest in the magazine by constantly calling attention to it at all meetings.

BEN DAVIS endorsed the magazine as an organ to fight for the Party. He favored having on the proposed editorial board "the most authoritative people as possible in the fields of writing and theory" and commented that he would not take offense if he himself is excluded.

DAVIS suggested that VIC PERLOW and WILLIAM WEINSTONE should be considered as candidates for the editorial board. DAVIS also expressed a preference for HERBERT APTEKER becoming editor of "Mainstream" with his possible successor at "Political Affairs" being MANNY BLUM.

Continuing, DAVIS remarked that APTEKER's work would be improved if he (APTEKER) would integrate himself more with the Party.

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DAVIS felt that it was not necessary to continue HY LUMER as Associate Editor. He called upon the Secretariat to state the "perspective" of "Political Affairs" "not for all times but for now" by directing "Political Affairs:"

1. To fight for the Party line.
2. To report on the "new epoch" in special issues so as to saturate the Party with this whole new project.
3. To expose and combat right opportunism, revisionism and dogmatic sectarianism.
4. To decide whether or not "Political Affairs" is to be an organ for expressing inner-Party ideological struggles.

PHIL BART agreed that "Political Affairs" is the organ of the Party's National Committee to present Marxist-Leninist theory and to combat "deviationism." BART urged that the Party should gear the magazine to reach "a broad circle beyond the Party" in an effort to increase its circulation.

JAMES JACKSON stated that the "attractiveness and authority" of "Political Affairs" must be improved. He indicated that the fate of the magazine is closely associated with the fate of the Party. JACKSON called for a "greater integration of specialized responsibility in the production of the magazine" if it is to elucidate the general line of the National Committee. JACKSON opposed the removing of APTEKER and was opposed to the formation of any "ambitious" editorial board, with HY LUMER and JIM ALLEN remaining as Associate Editors.

JACKSON noted that the problem of the magazine will not be solved independent of the people who print and



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publish it. JACKSON strongly opposed BEN DAVIS' nomination of [redacted] to APTHEKER. He characterized [redacted] as talented but too prone "to counterpose his own viewpoint to that of the collective"

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Continuing, JACKSON remarked that the line of articles by BEN DAVIS and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER do not correspond with the line of the National Committee, and, therefore, do not merit publication in "Political Affairs."

JACKSON stated that the editor selected must be reliable, competent and one who would have sufficient "political responsibility to the Party collective" in order to recognize material which constitutes a "departure" from general decisions. This type of person would then be able to refer such matters to the Party's central authority for consideration and final resolution.

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GUS HALL stated that in the process of raising the standards of the Party, people who accepted the benefits without participating and accepting discipline should not expect to have a place of prestige without accepting responsibility. He said that he felt that HERB APTHEKER should stop being "so stand-offish", so to speak, and should come into the fight and become more closely attached to the Party. HALL stated that the magazine (PA) is the weapon by which "we" could mobilize the leadership and the membership. "We" cannot expect mobilization of the Party if "we" cannot mobilize policy. According to HALL, more writing is needed from Party members. While there has to be a certain policy maintained, nevertheless, "we" must encourage articles that discuss weaknesses of the Party. Any article that tends to create a negative side of the Party should not be published without the consent of the Secretariat. HALL said that BEN DAVIS' article contained certain generalizations which should be passed upon by the leadership. He continued that articles of a historical nature are helpful to the Party. With respect to articles of a political nature, HALL said that he just checked through them to see if they followed the Party line.

WILLIAM PATTERSON said that every magazine needs an Editorial Board and such a Board must reflect the thinking of the Party. He said "we have a powerful organ in 'PA'" and must use it to mobilize the Party. The Editorial Board should have some of the national leaders on it to see that the line of the Party is followed.

HY LUMER said that the problem of leadership in the "PA" needs closer examination. LUMER remarked that the longer articles should be broken up as the clubs use shorter articles for discussion more often. LUMER was of the opinion that the Editorial Board should be more integrated with the Party leadership. He felt that three members from the Secretariat would help the Board to stand on its own feet politically and work closely with the top

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leadership. With respect to HERB APTHEKER, LUMER said that he felt that even though APTHEKER may be somewhat aloof, nevertheless, his work was thorough and he has made a tremendous contribution in developing the magazine ("PA"). LUMER was in agreement with HALL that the magazine should reflect the thinking of the Party and that basic issues such as centralism should be discussed before being published.

JIM ALLEN said that in general he thought that APTHEKER's report was good but he felt that they should find out why things were not being done that would make the magazine more effective. He felt that the articles in the magazine showed a quality of "separateness" from dealing with the kind of problems that would help the Party. According to ALLEN, the central emphasis of "PA" is to see that it fulfills its Party role as a spreader and developer of Party policy. ALLEN questioned whether APTHEKER had done his best as Editor of "PA".

HERBERT APTHEKER stated that the proposal in regard to the Editorial Board was generally along the line of his report. He said that he mentioned six names but felt it could be expanded and that WILL (WEINSTONE) would be a good addition. He commented that it would help in their dealing with current problems if the national leaders would write regularly on central problems and get their articles in on time. According to APTHEKER, the national leaders had failed to do this in the past. He said there has been some failure to integrate the "PA" Editor into the Party struggle but he resented the blanket way in which this criticism was made and said that he is not without experience in the Party's struggle as some have been in the past. APTHEKER stated that he wanted to continue as Editor of "PA" and not become Editor of "Mainstream" because he wants to be known as a Communist and a CP member.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE said that the Editorial Board should be a real working body of a "substantial collective."

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GUS HALL recommended that APTHEKER's report and the fact that it was discussed by the Secretariat be presented in "PA" in some form or other.

BEN DAVIS agreed with the suggestion that APTHEKER's report be accepted and suggested that the Editorial Board and editorship remain as is. He added that suggestions as to the additions to the Board should be made to the Secretariat. He also suggested that attention be given to production problems.

JACK STACHEL recommended that WEINSTONE, GUS HALL and himself be appointed to the Editorial Board. The informant was unable to ascertain whether this recommendation was approved.

JAMES JACKSON suggested that the Party get out an attractive leaflet on current issues. He suggested further that they secure a speaking permit for a speaker to appear at 125th Street and 7th Avenue in New York City. He did not elaborate further on this proposal.

In conclusion, JACKSON mentioned that he felt that demonstrations by the Hungarians in front of the Soviet Embassy (probably referring to the Consulate in New York City) should be exploited. As in the case of his other proposals, he did not elaborate.

IRVING POTASH introduced the question of "peaceful transition" and the problems of dealing with it. He felt that the Party must strive harder to convince the people that it is the Party's desire to bring about peaceful transition (to socialism). According to POTASH, there is "wishful thinking" on the part of some of the membership of "wishing away differences between the CP, SU and the CP of China".

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BEN DAVIS stated that [redacted] has been writing in the "New York Herald Tribune" that there is going to be a terrific break between the Soviet Union and China. DAVIS said that he felt the Party would be wrong if they assumed that this is not having an effect on the people. DAVIS raised the question as to whether the Party should tackle this question or just leave it an internal problem. He said that the problem of coping with this question is one that if not handled properly could result in a division within the Party itself.

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WILLIAM WEINSTONE agreed that "peaceful transition" needs elaboration. He then switched to the question of deviation and stated that "the question of deviation raised in 1957 and at the present time indicates that we can't take a dogmatic position regarding deviation but must apply it to each country." According to WEINSTONE, in the present situation the Party not only has right deviation and a developing left deviation but also nationalist deviation which is not receiving sufficient attention. WEINSTONE said that the Party should point out the positions of the right and the left in order to combat them. He added, "We in the Educational Committee have decided to raise the question of nationalism, not only as to Negroes, but as to quite a number of fields of work".

[redacted] stated that the Party must explain the differences between the Soviet Party and the Chinese Party because if they are not explained it may cause misunderstanding and play into the hands of the imperialists. According to [redacted] more attention should be given to the question of peace and the position of the Soviet Union on disarmament because this will help the Party in its mobilization.

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WILLIAM L. PATTERSON remarked that the differences between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Party have been brought about due to the fact that the Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations and China is not, and further because the Chinese have been faced with the problems of

NY 100-80641

Taiwan and Quemoy. PATTERSON said that as a result of his observations when abroad, he had returned with the opinion that with respect to the question of the non-inevitability of war there were no fundamental differences, but there were fundamental differences as to how this was going to be realized. There was some difference of opinion as to whether the class struggle was being neglected and too much emphasis was being placed on peaceful co-existence. PATTERSON commented, "I find there was no argument from any source that peaceful co-existence was not possible and was the line that was being emphasized".

MORRIS CHILDS said that the bourgeois forces are trying to emphasize differences and bring about a split. He continued, "We have to realize that the question of the inevitability of war is not an inner struggle any more than the transition to socialism". He noted that the Party has not answered the article by [redacted] on foreign policy and elections. According to CHILDS, [redacted] said that the desire of Communists to avoid war does not do away with the danger of war and the mere shift in Communist style does not represent a change in purpose of the Communists to dominate the world. CHILDS said, "We are trying to do away with this idea and are for peaceful co-existence and are against war." He is against ending the cold war because the only alternative to the cold war is war itself. The Party has to show that we believe in these things and the Party must mobilize the people to destroy this fallacy.

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Date: 9/20/60

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*15*  
*424*

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (415)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
CINAL  
(OO: NY)

CARE MUST BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION  
SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY  
PLACED INFORMANT.

- 7 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
(1-100-3-88) (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM)  
(1-100-3-104) (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)  
(1-100- ) (CPUSA-LINE)  
(1-100- ) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
- 5 - Boston (100- ) (RM)  
(1-100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)  
(1-100- ) (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM)  
(1-100- ) (CPUSA-LINE)  
(1-100- ) (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
- 3 - Chicago (100-33741) (RM)  
(1-61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1-100-33728) (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)

COPIES CONT'D PAGE 2  
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

HOC:msb  
(30)

Approved \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

100-95583-570

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED <i>h2</i>	FILED <i>h2</i>
SEP 20 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>WATERS</i>	

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*[Handwritten signature]*

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONT'D

1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)  
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
1 - NY 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY 100-86624 (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)  
1 - NY 100-87211 (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM) (415)  
1 - NY 100-129802 (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (415)  
① - NY 100-95583 (CPUSA-LINE) (415)



NY 100-80641

On 9/19/60, NY 2359-S\* advised that there was a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat and invited guests held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on that date. Among those in attendance were GUS HALL, who presided as chairman, BEN DAVIS, JR., HY LUMER, IRVING POTASH, JACK STACHEL, WILLIAM WEINSTONE, JAMES JACKSON, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and PHIL BART.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY suggested that "The Worker" should carry a verbatim reprint of Premier KHRUSHCHEV's speech upon disembarking in New York City on 9/19/60.

HY LUMER next presented an "outline report" which he said would omit the "gory details" of the New England District Committee meeting. LUMER sharply criticized HOMER CHASE and his supporters for their continued opposition to the Party line, and, in particular, to their opposition to the national leadership. LUMER indicated that this opposition centered mainly around the policies of peace and the elections.

LUMER stated that the Party's resolution on peace "was tabled by a 5 to 3 vote" at the meeting. He said acceptance of the Party's resolution on the elections was deferred by a 6 to 2 vote, pending the receipt of further clarification on the resolution from the national leadership.

Continuing, LUMER stated that a "control commission" consisting of five members was also instituted at the meeting at the request of HOMER CHASE. According to LUMER, the purpose of this commission, which he said is controlled by CHASE, will be to seek out and reactivate people formerly active in district affairs. LUMER described the comrades in the New England District as being confused concerning national policy because they learned of this policy only through CHASE. He said that the Party must take "decisive action" on this situation and not permit it to continue. LUMER noted that there is "no one there at the moment who can step into the breach" and the Party

NY 100-80641

must locate someone in order to save a large bloc of the membership.

LUMER said that the meeting was conducted in a "completely factional atmosphere" and comprised "one of the most disgraceful meetings" he had ever attended in his life. LUMER accused HOMER CHASE of stating that "all members of the District Committee are obliged to follow decisions of the District Committee as it sees the national policy." LUMER said that, in effect, HOMER CHASE made the district leadership superior to the national leadership. He said that he had questioned the validity of the District Committee meeting inasmuch as four of its twelve members were absent.

Continuing, LUMER remarked that HOMER CHASE's position is closely allied with that of the CP of China. He said CHASE argues that according to the CP Constitution, only the National Committee can make policy and that the National Executive Committee is not so empowered; therefore, NEC documents need not be accepted as definitive policy statements.

LUMER, in conclusion, urged that the Party act against HOMER CHASE and his supporters. He said provision must be made to reach the district membership independent of CHASE in order to effect the desired action.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE favored action by the Party in the form of assigning a three-man committee to organize a conference of the New England District organization because of the crisis there. WEINSTONE opposed the removal of CHASE and his executive leadership for fear that the Party would lose an important section of membership. WEINSTONE was also in favor of reaching the district membership independent of CHASE. He stated that up to the present, the district membership in New England has been receiving national policy and the Party line "through a CHASE filter."

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BEN DAVIS said that the National Committee must take some action. There should be a membership meeting, perhaps in Boston. The National Secretariat should send a committee headed by GUS HALL and consisting of HY LUMER and himself (DAVIS). According to DAVIS, the principal issues that exist between the National Office and the New England District are:

1. That they are in violation of national policy on election matters and on other matters.
2. They are in violation of Democratic centralism which is a basic question.
3. They are conducting a factional struggle against the line of the Party and the national leadership.

DAVIS said that this should be presented to the membership of the New England District, perhaps by GUS HALL, and that the membership be called upon to correct the situation by electing a new leadership. The committee selected by the Secretariat should explain the Party's election policy to the New England District. The role of the Party must be spelled out to the New England District. The Party should not cut itself off from the forces which would vote the Trotskyite ticket in protest against the candidates of the two major parties. The Party must find a way to distinguish between the Chase-type of sectarianism (HOMER CHASE) from that of the right wing and revisionists in the Party and out of the Party.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT suggested that the question of the New England District leadership be brought up before the National Committee.

PHIL BART remarked: "HOMER CHASE is either a fool or an adventurer". According to BART, CHASE does not reflect the attitude of all the Comrades in the New England District. The Comrades from Fall River and Beverly are not with him. BART suggested that a meeting of the New England District be organized to repudiate CHASE and suggested further that the District Committee should organize the forces of the membership. BART said that two or three leading Comrades could go into the District to prepare for the conference.

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CLARENCE HATHAWAY proposed that a leading Comrade go into the District to meet with the members of the District Committee and leading members of the clubs in order to help them understand the thinking of the national leadership and in order to insure a decisive vote when the conference is called. HATHAWAY stated that the question of HOMER CHASE's relationship with the National leadership will be settled by the National Committee, but action must be taken before the National Committee meeting in order to prevent a CHASE group from creating a worse situation in the New England District.

JACK STACHEL said that a letter should be sent out in the name of the National Committee to members of the New England District Committee and to members of the clubs explaining what is happening in the New England District, and pointing out that the Party line is not being followed. He continued that a Comrade should be sent into the New England District to mobilize the membership for a conference, and efforts should be made to send representatives from the nationality groups, youth, Negroes and women to the New England District to show them that the Party can mobilize its forces.

HY LUMER commented that as far as the nationality groups in the New England District are concerned, the only one of any importance is the Jewish group, which is a loyal, solid contingent and is the backbone of the progressive forces in the New England District.

GUS HALL, referring to the situation involving HOMER CHASE, said, "This is a challenge to everything basic in our Party. These are the actions of a completely irresponsible person who has no understanding of Communist thinking". HALL described CHASE as having strong elements of Trotskyism in his makeup and noted that CHASE has an anti-Soviet position. According to HALL, CHASE has conducted an open struggle against the Party, the Party line and the Party policy. HALL characterized CHASE as "irresponsible and not up to the standards of a Communist leader". He stated that he intended to move in the

NY 100-80641

National Committee that CHASE be removed from every post which he holds in the Party, including membership on the National Committee. HALL proposed that a statement be issued to the New England Party showing the position of the National Office.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE proposed that a delegation made up of GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS and HY LUMER go to Boston as soon as possible to straighten this matter out.

IRVING POTASH made the following proposals:

1. A statement be issued to indicate that another meeting is required to reverse CHASE's stand.
2. A Comrade go up there (to Boston) to prepare the people and insure attendance at this meeting.
3. That GUS HALL attend that State Committee meeting.

HY LUMER proposed that he draft a statement and have it ready for the Org. Committee to discuss on Wednesday, (9/21/60). He agreed with the proposal that he, GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS go to Boston.

A report given by JIM JACKSON and the ensuing discussion was unavailable to the informant due to the fact that the added security of the blackboard was used extensively throughout.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - U. S. GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC [REDACTED]  
 FROM: SA DONALD L. MILLER  
 SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
 BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 9/27/60

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	9/8/60	9/13/60	DONALD L. MILLER (written)	[REDACTED]

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b7D

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

- ⑩ - New York (Regis. Mail)
  - CP, EDUCATION (100-80633)
  - WILLIAM WEINSTONE (100-9595)
  - [REDACTED] (100-120054)
  - [REDACTED] (100-135736)
  - [REDACTED] (100-132101)
  - [REDACTED] (100-120546)
  - CP, BRIEF
  - CP, LINE
  - CP, FACTIONALISM
- 2 - Cleveland (Regis. Mail)
  - [REDACTED]
  - CP, EDUCATION
- 2 - Detroit (Regis. Mail)
  - CP, EDUCATION
  - [REDACTED] (100-25776)
- 3 - Chicago (Regis. Mail)
  - CP, EDUCATION
  - [REDACTED]
- 4 - Philadelphia (Regis. Mail)
  - CP, EDUCATION
  - [REDACTED]
- 3 - Baltimore
  - 100-12244 (CP, EDUCATION)
  - 100-18684 [REDACTED]

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100-95583-571  
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 OCT 4 1960  
 FBI - NEW YORK

[Redacted]

b7D

"Baltimore, Md., Sept. 12, 1960

"When the Communist Party Training School session began on Thursday, September 8, 1960, at 9:00 A. M., WILL WEINSTONE, the instructor, asked [Redacted] (of Cleveland), the controller of the class, to read the attendance and late record. He then told the class about their being on time as being of the utmost importance. He went on to explain why it was not only discourteous to those who arrived on time, but also distracting to the teacher and class. The class consisted of:

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"Of New York

[Redacted]

from Baltimore  
from Detroit  
from Cleveland

Chicago

[Redacted]

Philadelphia

[Redacted]

leaving to return to work after the day's session)

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"WILL told the class that there would be an evaluation session made from group reports on the entire school on Saturday (9/10/60).

"Another topic WILL wanted to discuss further was the 'Weaknesses in the Struggle for Peace' and remedies to these weaknesses. The weaknesses included: 1) inadequate participation among workers, 2) failure to clear up misconceptions of workers and others in the proletariat; 3) overlooking grass roots approach thru left center groups; 4) practice of sectarianism; 5) failure to relate goals of Negroes and labor to the struggle for peace, and 6) failure to struggle for creation of a farmer-worker party. Basic remedies included: 1) regaining of the Party's legal

[REDACTED]

"status, 2) systematized education for masses, 3) more participation in the elections, 4) making alliances wherever it is feasible, and 5) live in among the people in order to gain sympathy, support and results.

"WILL cut the reports of the group to the barest minimum with explanations of the parts of the questions that weren't answered fully or correctly. The purpose of this was to use the time saved to more fully explain and prove to the class that materialism is the only philosophy to believe because it proves to man thru his senses and knowledge. WILL read excerpts from philosophical works by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to prove that God does not exist, the world has existed before man and after man, and there is a continuous development of the world and man in it. After the lecture on materialism, WILL gave [REDACTED] one of the books he used, because [REDACTED] position on the Catholic Church showed that the lecture was necessary.

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"After lunch, WILL gave his lecture on 'Strategy, Tactics and The United Front'. He differentiated the two major concepts and explained their relationship to the Party's principal work. WILL explained what a united front was and why this was advocated by the Party. WILL also spoke on a new concept in the Party - that of peaceful transition to socialism. He pointed out that the Party didn't believe in violence, but revolutions would entail some. The 20th Congress progressed to the point of stating that due to the change in the world situation, it may be possible to acquire power in some countries peaceably, but not in others. This peaceful transition is new and possible because the socialist world is guarding the progress of mankind. Because of America's powerful imperialist forces, an anti-monopoly coalition is worked for by the Party in order to attain socialism. Reformists are different because they believe that the bourgeoisie will give way. The Party, on the other hand, strives to hold the bourgeoisie from fascism. WILL told the class to read pp. 38-41 of the outline, 'World Marxist Review' No. 12, 1959, 'World Marxist Review' No. 4, 1960 (3 Articles taken from the magazine); and GUS HALL's 'Our Stake in the Elections' for the questions. The groups then did the reading and worked on their questions."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.



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10/2/60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-15946)

DATE: 10/6/60

FROM : SA [redacted] (#415)

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SUBJECT: JAMES TORMEY  
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

On 9/27/60, NY 2362-S\* advised that on the above date JAMES TORMEY had an informal discussion with GUS HALL in the pent house office, at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC.

Informant advised that the complete discussion pertained to the line being followed by TORMEY and attempts by HALL to determine what objections and misgivings TORMEY entertained.

- 1 - NY100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-129802 (CP, USA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (415)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - LINE) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-128821 (CP, USA, NYD - FACTIONALISM) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-15946 (415)

HCO:gmg  
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100-95583-572

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OCT. 6 1960	
FBI-NEW YORK 415	
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NY 100-15946

TORMEY stated that he was prepared to be critical of the 20th Congress (apparently referring to the 20th Congress of the CPSU). He said the 20th Congress incorrectly conducted a one-sided exclusive struggle and it was his understanding that they believed that they should lead the struggle against dogmatism and leadership under Stalin. "I" do not like the way the question of the transition to socialism was handled. The emphasis...was that there are different roads to socialism.

"I" felt that wrong handling could be condoned but not the one-sidedness in the way it was handled. While the events in Hungary were caused by errors and relationships between socialist countries, "I" did not like the one-sided emphasis on the national form...regarding the Hungarian situation. "I" questioned the departure of the liberal reform and this question was not "elucidated" on at the 20th Congress. Also, a sufficient foundation was not laid for an understanding of what was going on. "I" saw the reaction of these two questions on the [redacted] forces. "I" agree that the [redacted] forces distorted the questions but the way in which some things were handled at the 20th Congress, they lent themselves to distortion.

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"They" came to the conclusion that the transition to socialism, for instance, the transference from the class struggle as we knew it in the old sectarian days, into a period of forward development in which the superior socialist discipline would win over the capitalist forces. The one-sidedness in handling these questions lent themselves to distortion.

"My" objection to the Stalin evaluation..."we" had to get it out in the open - the Parties throughout the world did not take the same attitude. If errors were made, they had to be examined specifically in historical context in the areas where they were made. "I" believe in international solidarity but "I" believe that international solidarity is a

NY 100-15946

two-way street. "I" believe that there should have been a better Marxist explanation by the Communist Parties throughout the world on what happened (re STALIN evaluation) and a better analysis should have been made.

"I" consider this revisionist trend the main enemy. "I" realize that "I" had an untenable position but now "I" am one of the people who continue to fight for the Party's 17th Convention. "I" had reservations about certain aspects but "I" do not feel that this was unprincipled....

GUS HALL stated that in his opinion, TORMEY had a (brittle?) approach to the whole question... "They" faced a crisis. That was the deepest crisis and potentially the (gravest?) thing that ever happened... "They" faced an internal crisis of severest order and that had to readjust their work on a new basis. Things developed to a certain (pitch?) and you have to hit it with everything....

Regarding the struggle on two fronts, whatever is challenged you have got to hit. You cannot equivocate.

There are speeches on record....and one of the Parties that made that evaluation (is?) the Chinese Party.... maybe some of these things were correct for certain periods....so this has to be hit hard.

"I" recognize the realities of life and "I" did not take such a crisp (outlook?)...or take the question of new ideas. If you have some negative reactions, it does mean that it is wrong.....but a more flexible approach is necessary.

Informant advised that the question was then raised regarding the resolution (not identified) and HALL stated that he had voted on it. HALL then stated to TORMEY, either you are with us or you are against us....and "they" go right down the line in their relations...

NY 100-15946

TORMEY told HALL that "he" was asked if he felt the 20th Congress had gone to the right... Now "I" follow a line that "I" realize is left...and certain people fail to realize...and "I" know that these people have inconsistencies. TORMEY stated that he was his own final judge and regarding the conclusions adopted, "I" am carrying out these conclusions because of a basic understanding of the line. However, regarding the situation downstairs (New York State) "I" am opposed to certain views expressed and "I" refuse to accept them. "I" never have participated in any fight for a correct line.... "I" have my own reservations but it is easy for me to see the other side.... TORMEY stated further that he had read all the material in the three articles but that he could not draw any conclusions on China from them. HALL stated that he based his report on the material but that he had a little more material and it helps...

Informant advised that TORMEY interrupted to say that he was not taking the Chinese position. TORMEY asked HALL to think over the problem. TORMEY then asked HALL if he had any advice for him, saying that he did not want to sustain a (wrong?) position. HALL, in answering, said that he could see that TORMEY had a basis for his position.

Informant advised that the discussion closed at this point, with TORMEY advising HALL that he would think the matter over and requesting that at some future time he would like to have another discussion with HALL regarding the questions of policy. TORMEY indicated that he was satisfied with the discussion today. HALL said that he, too, was satisfied and that he was merely attempting to determine what TORMEY was critical about.

10-27-60

Optional Form No. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

Date: OCT 21 1960

TO : SAC (100-4379)  
FROM : SA CHARLES E. SANDALL  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
NEW YORK DISTRICT  
BUFFALO DIVISION  
IS - C

The following information was furnished on 10/10/60 by [redacted]. A portion of the data from this source is of interest to the New York Office since it concerns remarks made by MORTIMER SCHEER, Erie County CP Organizer, Upstate New York CP Co-ordinator and member of the New York State CP Committee, following his trip to New York City on 10/6/60, where he attended a meeting of the State CP Committee. If this information is reported, it should be suitably paraphrased to avoid compromising the source:

b7D

- 14 - New York (1 - 100-118174, [redacted] (RM))
- (1 - 100-16785, JIM JACKSON)
- (1 - 100-23825, BEN DAVIS)
- (1 - 100-16021, ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1 - 100-15946, JIM TORMEY)
- (1 - 100-129629, WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
- (1 - 100-48033, IRVING POTASH)
- (1 - 100-13203, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-68229, VICTOR RABINOWITZ)
- (1 - 100- [redacted], WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- (1 - 100- [redacted], CP LINE)
- (1 - 100- [redacted], CP FUNDS)
- (1 - 100- [redacted], CP MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100- [redacted], CP Political Activities)

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100-95583-573

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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OCT 24 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

415

16 - Buffalo

- (1 - 100-10454, MORTIMER SCHEER)
- (1 - 100-10456, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-11899, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12948, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12887, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12062, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12061, [redacted])
- (1 - 100-14570, [redacted])
- 1 - 100-12083 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-12070 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-11862 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-4052 (COMINFIL USWA)
- 1 - 100-4379-63 (CP FUNDS)
- 1 - 100-4379-72 (CP POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 97-31 (THE WORKER)

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BU 100-4379

[redacted] had previously reported that MORTIMER SCHEER b7D traveled by plane to Albany, N. Y., on 10/5/60 and that he intended to leave Albany for New York City on the afternoon of 10/6/60. Source advised on 10/9/60 that SCHEER returned to Buffalo from New York City by plane on the evening of that date.

On the morning of 10/10/60, MORTIMER SCHEER conferred with [redacted] at their residence [redacted] and he was informed by her that [redacted] had spent the weekend at Alleghany State Park that weekend and that their child was cared for by [redacted]

[redacted] MORTIMER SCHEER mentioned to [redacted] (Erie County CP Organizational [redacted] would be over for a conference with him later that morning. b6 b7C

During the middle of the morning, [redacted] called on SCHEER who told him of his recent trip to New York City. SCHEER said he had conferred with the lawyer [redacted] concerning the case of the 3 former steel workers against the Bethlehem Steel Company and the United Steelworkers of America.

He said he also talked to the officials of the CP in New York and got them to agree to pay part of the legal fees.

SCHEER also told [redacted] that there were 2 points taken up on the agenda (of the State CP Committee), the first dealing with the CP line in the coming election. Source advised that SCHEER did not get around to mentioning the second issue. b6 b7C

SCHEER was critical of the political activity being carried on by the CP in the New York area, complaining that in Brooklyn where there are 300 CP members, they were unable to get 600 signatures on a petition. He attributed this failure to the fact that no one went out and worked on it. He mentioned that BEN DAVIS worked on the campaign in Harlem and that this is the only campaign the CP is carrying on. He said the campaign in New York City resulted in the obtaining of 5,000 signatures and that it succeeded in doing that well because it was conducted principally by [redacted] and ARNOID JOHNSON, but the main result was that they failed to get enough signatures because they did not get enough help in the canvassing. b6 b7C

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SCHEER reverted to the current campaign to elect a Negro judge in Buffalo and [ ] told him that the CP Poker Club met on Friday night, 10/7/60 and when [ ] mentioned to the members of this club that the following Saturday was the last day for registration and he asked for the help of the members of this club, there was complete silence and no one volunteered to help.

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MORTIMER SCHEER commented that he spoke at the meeting in New York on the work that the Party has been doing on the local Negro judge campaign. He also pointed out in New York City that two of his clubs have succeeded in placing "The Worker" on the public newsstands. He told them in New York City that people in the Buffalo area are confused over whether to support Vice President NIXON or Senator KENNEDY and that the CP in this area will have to develop its own independent party as it should have done long ago. SCHEER volunteered that "they" (apparently referring to New York State CP officials), have not decided who shall be entered for a particular political position and it appears that they are not going to come out with a united proposal at this time. He expected that this would have a demoralizing effect on the membership.

SCHEER mentioned that ARNOLD JOHNSON gave a pretty good report considering the confused attitude of the CP on the current elections. It is believed that in New York City (apparently by CP officials), that KENNEDY is a greater danger to peace than is NIXON because he can command more support from labor in the "cold war." (WILLIAM Z.) FOSTER stated that the lack of any choice in the candidates for the Presidency reflects the weakness rather than the strength of Imperialism. FOSTER feels that the Party should not march behind the banners of [ ] but should present the CP position to the masses of the workers. SCHEER said that ARNOLD JOHNSON's report was generally accepted. (JIM) TORMEY introduced a proposal in support of the NEC line in the state for which there were 10 "Yes" votes, 2 against and 16 abstentions. BILL ALBERTSON and several others were very upset.

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SCHEER and [ ] then generally discussed the strike situation at the General Electric Plant in Schenectady. He said that [ ] was suppose to go up to Schenectady

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during the week of 10/9-15/60, but was subpoenaed to Washington, D. C., and will try to go up there later. SCHEER complained that the State CP had not even discussed the GE strike before he got there but he arranged a meeting with (IRVING) POTASH, [redacted] and several others.

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SCHEER stated that there was talk in New York City about the McCarran Act and the CP Membership clause, but nothing definite has been decided. SCHEER said he thinks there will not be any mass roundups and that only the CP leadership will possibly be effected. SCHEER said that he believes that there will have to be a discussion and a position on this issue as the leadership is worried about it.

[redacted] notified SCHEER that there will be a CP Staff meeting on 10/11/60 at [redacted]

SCHEER said that the staff must go over the whole CP Club situation to guarantee that every club starts meeting. They will also have to decide whether to have a CP Board meeting on 10/15/60.

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SCHEER mentioned further that he has to contact [redacted] at her home. As [redacted] was prepared to leave, he told SCHEER that he might obtain a job with the City of Buffalo to tide him over until something else comes up.

[redacted] conferred with MORTIMER SCHEER at latter's residence for about a half hour during the evening of 10/10/60. She informed SCHEER that [redacted] (Negro attorney active in the Negro judge campaign) has been asking questions about the background of [redacted] who has been helping in the campaign. MORTIMER SCHEER told [redacted] that she should inform [redacted] that [redacted] has been working in various groups.

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[redacted] asked SCHEER what decisions were made as a result of a conference with Attorney VICTOR RABINOWITZ. SCHEER said that he [redacted] [redacted] contacted RABINOWITZ who claimed to be very busy as the legal counsel for CASTRO. The attorney explained that he needed \$500 more so that he could get another lawyer to work on research as he did not have time to



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do it himself. He said it would cost about \$3,000 to take the case as far as the Supreme Court and that the union (USWA) has been in touch with him several times and has gone to the company (Bethlehem Steel) to get the jobs back for the 3 former steel workers. The company refused and the union proposed a cash settlement of about \$500 each. [redacted] said he is going to raise the \$500, but believes that something should be done in Buffalo to raise money. SCHEER said that he has been thinking of putting ads in the local papers announcing that "The Worker" is available on the newsstands and may also try to get a few minutes of radio time. [redacted] suggested that SCHEER try to get a round table discussion on Freedom of the Press with SCHEER a representative of "The Worker". SCHEER thought this was a good idea and if he can get time on TV he will distribute slingers announcing to the people that he will speak as the Chairman of the Erie County CP.

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RECOMMENDATION:

File.

11-9-60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
FROM: SA [redacted] (415)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

DATE: 11/4/60

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CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

This memo is submitted to set forth, in some detail, remarks made by those in attendance at a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat and invited guests held on 10/20/60, in CP Headquarters, NYC, as reported by NY 2359-S\* on that date. A summary of the meeting was furnished to the Bureau in a letterhead memo dated 10/21/60.

Among those present were: PHIL BART, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., GUS HALL, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, ARNOLD JOHNSON, HYMAN LUMER, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, JACK STACHEL, WILLIAM WEINSTONE.

- 1 - NY (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-128814) (CP, USA-NYD Organization) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-87211) (CP, USA-Factionalism) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-128822) (CP, USA-NYD-Factionalism) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-118174) [redacted] (414)
- 1 - NY (100-95583) (CP, USA-Line) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (422)
- 1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C42) (CP, USA-NY County) (421)
- 1 - NY (100-132430) (Industrial Division, NYD CP) (42)
- 1 - NY (100-129802) (CP, USA-Counterintelligence Program) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)
- 1 - NY (100-50094) [redacted] (414)
- 1 - NY (100-93665) [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-80641)

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CLARENCE HATHAWAY opened the discussion and commented regarding the problems with the New York State leadership. He said that these problems should be brought to the attention of the national leadership in order to achieve unity and the correct political line. He said this can not be solved by the state staff and the state board as is claimed by some of the state leadership because the problems that exist are not normal differences but are based on factionalism. He said that [redacted] argued that the New York State leadership has not been following the line of the 17th Convention. However, the central line of the convention was the development of united front work. Unity behind the policy and leadership of the National Committee is the only basis on which the problems of the New York District can be solved.

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[redacted] based his attack on the on the state leadership on "main-streamism" and "rootism". This is not true. A broader united front approach has always been stressed.

"I" have more continuous experience in mass work and in united front work than other comrades in the national leadership, and "I" never differentiated between my role as a party person and activities in the broadest kind of united front work, such as in trade unions, farmer-labor work, and in the peace movements. The object of united front work is to reach people and set them in motion. BEN DAVIS was incorrect in minimizing the differences in state leadership regarding mass policy. DAVIS argues that although the Party has done good work in such activities as the youth march, there has not been sufficient party building.

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If Party activities, such as leaflets and meetings as well as united front work in youth, Sane, the Insurgents, and trade unions, does not result in party building, it is not the policy that is wrong, but the fact that the Party does not follow through on its associations with people in order to win their confidence and to prove to them that the Party has the answer.

The Party is too much inclined toward one-shot action. The Party must distinguish between its open role and its vanguard role. The fact that the Party puts out leaflets and holds meetings is not a manifestation of its vanguard role. The vanguard role requires sustained and continuous work wherein we convince the worker that the Party is entitled to recognition as a vanguard force, a force that the workers can look to for leadership and guidance in their struggle. The Party must win workers and develop them politically in order that they understand what the struggle is about.

Recruiting can not be accomplished by street-corner meetings or by leaflets. The Party will win workers for membership when the Party works with them, gets to know them, and develops their confidence. This requires a building process and not just an agitational and propaganda process.

Factionalism has been centered in Manhattan County and in industry. It has been continuously slandering and undermining both the district and the national leadership. Factionalism has not been carried into Brooklyn, Queens or Nassau Counties.

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HATHAWAY stated that factionalism has created a sweeping contemptuous attitude toward the whole national leadership. This attitude was displayed on every issue that arose including the election statement, peace resolution and the organizational structure proposals. He said that it is necessary to make clear that "this leadership here" is united in every aspect and BEN (DAVIS) can play an important role at this time by removing the idea that "they" are standing on a platform that he (DAVIS) tolerates.

HATHAWAY commented that he personally had no desire to undermine or destroy anyone, however, "they" must recognize the errors of their ways and the destructive effects their activity has had on the Party. This group (Secretariat?) must make clear that "they" have to first realize that there is a national leadership in the Party and that this leadership alone is responsible in determining the line of the Party, and everyone is under obligation to submit themselves to the line of the Party. HATHAWAY concluded by commenting that there must be a united and non-factional leadership set up in the New York District which will follow the line of the Party.

Informant advised that WILL WEINSTONE then asked HATHAWAY why he was unable to get things done on "certain movements". HATHAWAY admitted that something basically was wrong, and further that there was no central leadership of forces and that there is a looseness in organization which must be overcome. HATHAWAY commented further that he wanted to differentiate between BILL (ALBERTSON?), BETTY (GANNETT?), and JIM (TORMEY?) as compared to the "other comrades" because the former have continually fought for the line of the Party as distinct from the "other comrades" who have not.

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JACK STACHEL next commented that no one can deny that since the 17th National Convention the National Committee has tried to strengthen the Party and develop its mass work. He said that (ARNOLD) JOHNSON is an associate member and not a full member of the factional group, but nevertheless JOHNSON must accept responsibility. He said the most important thing is to solve the internal situation in New York and felt that the New York membership would support the line of the National Committee once that line is made clear. STACHEL pointed out that many members of the State Committee were not aware that a factional situation existed. STACHEL said that at a recent State Committee meeting he told everyone that they have to be as one with the leadership like (CLARENCE) HATHAWAY is, otherwise there can not be a Communist Party. STACHEL maintained that differences of opinion must be solved before it is possible to carry out mass work. He said the line of the Party must be agreed upon and this line must be carried out even if it is necessary to remove everyone.

STACHEL speculated that if GUS (HALL) would go into a State Committee meeting and fight for the line of the Party, he would receive at least 80% support of that State Committee. STACHEL further remarked that in order to convince the Party that we are not just adopting resolutions but rather that we mean business, the Party should concentrate its work in the Negro, youth and Puerto Rican fields and should assign a comrade to each of these fields on a full time basis in order to lead and build it.

HY LUMER said that he wanted to speak concerning [redacted] and that he wanted to agree with WILL's (WEINSTONE) statement, adding that in his opinion [redacted]

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has had a wrong political line. LUMER said that this has been a longstanding problem and the incorrectness of this line is demonstrated by the articles written by [ ] in "Political Affairs".

LUMER said that the essence of [ ] remarks at various meetings and discussions indicates that the role of the Party is an agitational and propaganda role. "This line" is the basis of his work and activity in the Industrial Division. I think it is clear that [ ] considers that the Party leadership is revisionist although he has not said it in so many words. He [ ] said at a staff meeting that those who were for liquidation of the Party now had the highest standing. When a comrade holds such views concerning the national leadership, this is an expression of strong differences with the national leadership. Relative to the peace question, "I" seriously question whether [ ] accepts the Party line. It should be sharply stated that [ ] has to change his line and "I" am not ready to give up on him by any means.

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Continuing LUMER remarked that it was his opinion that ARNOLD (JOHNSON) on a number of occasions did not "plug" for the Party line but knowingly defended factionalism. LUMER concluded by stating that he agreed with the general character of the criticism WEINSTONE expressed concerning the other comrades.

PHIL BART said that all factionalism must be cut out and that the line of the Party must be accepted by everyone.

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GUS HALL remarked that generally the Party is healthy and has shown progress in the last six months, but in the New York District opposition has emerged and this can not be tolerated. HALL said that a comrade can not be anti-leadership and not be anti-Party also as they are one and must be one in a Communist Party. HALL remarked that when the national leadership projects a policy then the district leadership must implement it, and any other action is opposition. He said there is a political situation in New York and "we" must deal with it, "the opposition must be removed one way or another".

HALL then made the following proposals:

1. A small committee should be set up to investigate what happened in the Manhattan Clubs and in the Industrial section. (HALL indicated that he considered these to be the center of the opposition.)
2. Some comrades in the New York District have to be removed and when "we" decide who is to go, we will ask them to remove themselves, and if they do not, then "we" will take action.
3. He recommended that the State Committee meeting on this question should be held after the elections, and that the next State Committee meeting should be devoted to the elections.
4. There should be further reflection concerning this situation, but the comrades should know that "we" are through playing around.



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CLARENCE HATHAWAY then commented that the next State Committee meeting would be confined to the elections and that the New York situation would be discussed as stated by GUS at a later date.

BEN DAVIS next commented on the leadership crisis in the New York District. DAVIS refused to consider the conclusions of GUS HALL as representative of the final conclusions of the entire National Secretariat. DAVIS stated that in his opinion, HALL has not had a sufficient documentation on the situation to warrant final conclusions and insisted that the National Secretariat consider the question further.

DAVIS noted that unification of the Communist Party is the biggest task that it faces and that unification can be achieved, not by attempting to destroy one group in the Party, but only by ironing out issues that divide comrades through joint discussions.

DAVIS characterized HATHAWAY's report as factional. He condemned the approach in the report which condemns only [redacted] EVIE (WIENER), [redacted] and ARNOLD (JOHNSON)" while it directs "no real criticism" towards "BILL (ALBERTSON), BETTY (GANNETT), JIM (TORMEY) [redacted] [redacted]

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DAVIS then commented regarding his own removal from the New York State leadership. He characterized this move as a "political maneuver" which subsequent events have confirmed. DAVIS pointed out that "nobody in this Party can have any serious ideas of developing the work among the Negro people in New York without my being

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a participant on an equal basis with the New York State leadership. I'm going to have something to say about what happens in New York as long as I'm in this Party unless the comrades vote that I keep my mouth shut."

Continuing DAVIS conceded that mistakes in procedure may have been made by some New York comrades, but attributed these mistakes more to their newness in leadership and to their inexperience rather than to any deliberate intent on their part. DAVIS concluded by saying that he intended to seek permission to appear before the next State Committee meeting in order to present a "different point of view" on the New York problems.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE said that decisive action must be taken in New York, but since no final decision could be reached at present, then the matter should be discussed further. He said the State Committee should be so advised. He remarked that in the meantime the Party should direct its attention to three immediate significant tasks: 1. To sponsor an election conference, 2. To support a "Pauling meeting" scheduled for Monday, October 24, and 3. Distribute 50,000 copies of the Communist Party's election platform.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY spoke again and rejected BEN DAVIS' charge that his report was factional. HATHAWAY emphasized that he does not intend to undermine or destroy anyone who is merely seeking to end factionalism in New York by establishing those who do and do not support the political line of the Party.

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WILLIAM PATTERSON next attacked BEN DAVIS' position on the New York leadership controversy and accused DAVIS of allowing his own subjective reactions to color his evaluation of the situation. PATTERSON assailed DAVIS as being responsible for the original faulty indoctrination into leadership and leadership procedures. PATTERSON suggested that these forces might have been checked in their anti-Party actions by some action on the part of BEN (DAVIS). He urged DAVIS to change his position as stated today in order not only to mend the situation in New York, but to make the Party healthier nationally.

Informant advised that general agreement was reached to have further discussions on this situation. At the conclusion of the meeting PHIL BART suggested that the dates of the next National Committee CP, USA meeting would be December 16 through December 18. Meeting adjourned.